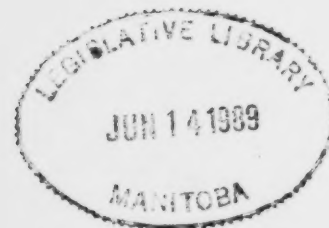




A REVIEW OF THE HERITAGE RESOURCES OF
VIRDEN-WALLACE PLANNING DISTRICT



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HISTORIAN
HISTORIC RESOURCES BRANCH

OCTOBER 1986

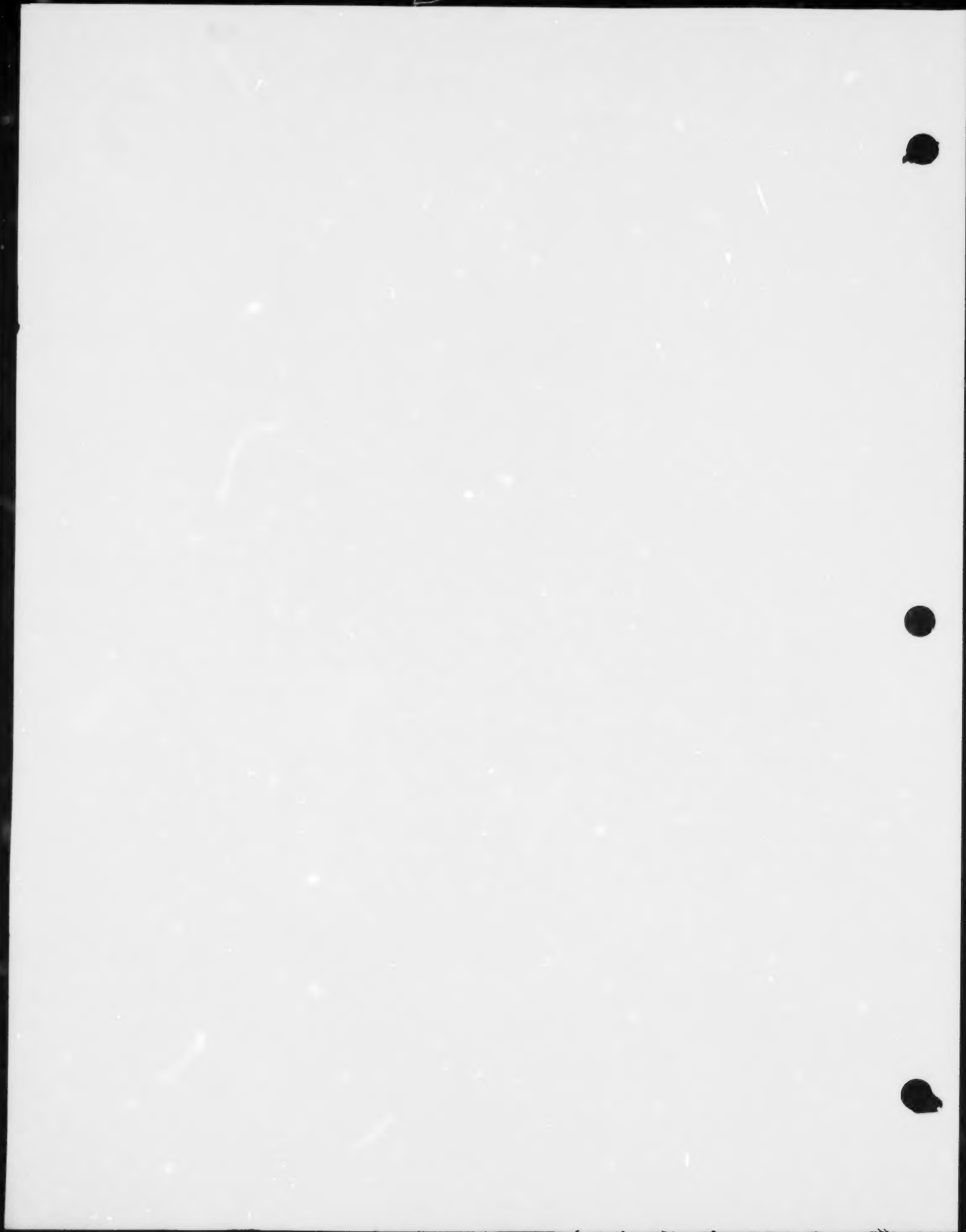


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I. Introduction

A. Study Objectives and Methodology

This report is intended to provide an overview of the history of the area encompassed by the Virden-Wallace Planning District, as well as to provide specific details about sites of historical interest and value within the district. The information is intended to be of use in the identification, possible preservation, and wise management of area heritage sites. Some background details about provincial and national history are necessarily included in order to place local historical events in perspective, but the emphasis of the report is on providing information which should be of immediate, specific, and practical use to the Planning District Board..

The second section of the report is a summary of the settlement and economic development of the region. This is intended to provide the historical context for the remainder of the report.

The third chapter of the report contains a listing and description of sites of reduced importance in the historical context, but of interest nonetheless as illustrations of stages of the development of the community. These sites include schools, churches, post offices, elevators, and local industries, and are usually of local significance only.

The fourth section of the report deals with specific sites which have potential heritage value accorded to them by their significance not only to the district, but also to the entire province, and on rare occasions to the nation. Many of these sites are buildings. It must be noted however, that the buildings included here are mentioned for their historical significance. Certainly the area boasts a number of interesting and unusual buildings which are worthy of recognition for their architectural value, but space permits a study of buildings of historical significance only.

In collecting material for this report emphasis was placed on primary sources wherever possible. This meant a reliance on early local newspapers, of which this district possessed an abundance. Early local government records and archival materials were also studied. Some oral interviews were conducted with district residents, and a mass of secondary sources, including local histories of the region, were consulted. The text of the report has been given extensive references in the footnote section to reflect these many sources. It is hoped the footnotes will be of assistance to future researchers of the area's history.

This study is not intended to be a definitive study of Virden-Wallace district since time did not permit more thorough research. It is hoped, however, in its present form the report will provide sufficient documentation to aid the Planning District Board in formulating strategies for identification, preservation, and management of sites within

its jurisdiction. These could be incorporated into any land use policy developed by the planning board.

B. Location and Description of Virden-Wallace Planning

District

The study area referred to as Virden-Wallace Planning District consists of the Rural Municipality of Wallace and the Town of Virden. The area encompasses townships 10 to 12, ranges 26 to 29 West of the Prime Meridian. The district therefore contains twelve townships. Other communities located in the planning district include the Village of Elkhorn and hamlets of Kola, Kirkella, Hargrave, Two Creeks, and Harmsworth.

Virden-Wallace Planning District is located in southwestern Manitoba between the physical boundaries of the Assiniboine River and Pipestone Creek. Administratively, it is bounded in the north by the R.M. of Archie, in the east by the R.M. of Woodworth, in the south by the R.M. of Pipestone, and in the west by the Province of Saskatchewan.

Topographically, the district is mainly rolling prairie, nearly devoid of trees at the time of settlement, but now dotted with bluffs. Cutting through its northeastern corner is the wide valley of the Assiniboine River with its attendant ridge of glacial moraine. The southwestern corner of the district is cut by the much shallower valley of Pipestone Creek. Between these two watercourses are numerous

creeks of varying sizes, which drain into the Assiniboine or Pipestone Creek-Oak Lake water systems. Foremost among these small water bodies are Bosshill, Gooher, and Scallion creeks which all meet at Virden townsite before flowing into the Assiniboine River beyond the district.

C. Summary of Findings

Research revealed that the development of the region has always been closely tied to its proximity to the mainline of the Canadian Pacific Railway. While a mixed farming economy has been dominant, wheat growing has been prevalent enough to involve the region in the grain growers' movement. The discovery of oil in southwestern Manitoba in the early 1950's, while it provided the district with a parallel second economy, never seriously deflected the agricultural interests of area residents.

Logically, the majority of historic sites in any area are foremost of local interest: its early schools, churches, post offices, elevators, and industries. In addition to these, twelve potential heritage sites were also identified and evaluated. They were felt to have been instrumental in the region's development and to have varying degrees of relevance to the entire district and province.

Two early trails used by Indians and furtraders were instrumental in the development of both Western Canada and Virden-Wallace district. The southern branch of the Fort

Ellice or Saskatchewan Trail was a supply route followed by Hudson's Bay Company traders from Portage la Prairie to Fort Ellice from whence further trails ran to western furtrading posts. This trail ran along the western side of the Assiniboine River to Virden and then turned northward to Fort Ellice near the present Saskatchewan border.

Moose Mountain Trail veered south off the Saskatchewan Trail near Oak Lake. It then ran straight westward to Moose Mountain near present-day Cannington Manor, Saskatchewan. Here a supply of wood could be garnered from an otherwise barren prairie. From Moose Mountain connections could be made to Fort Qu'Appelle, Fort Ellice, or the Boundary Commission Trail running along the Canadian-American border. Both the Saskatchewan Trail and the Moose Mountain trail carried goods and pioneers into the region before the arrival of the C.P.R.

Two homes of early prominent settlers were deemed to be of sufficient historical significance to require presentation in this report. The first, Bosshill Farm, was the home of two well-bred Englishmen, Francis P. Bouverie and Thomas Routledge, who arrived in Virden in 1884. The farm they created near Virden townsite, and on which they lived until 1893, was a example of fine English living transplanted in the wilds of Western Canada. Both men also played active roles in the social, political, and military development of the community. The farm has long since been

enveloped by Virden's expansion, but the country manor they built in 1889 still exists as a private residence.

The second home belonged to Thomas Scallion, a well-educated Ontarian who purchased the first land in the district in 1883. He is recognized as a founding father of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association and of the United Farmers of Manitoba which evolved from it. His farm on 9-11-26 was a prosperous one with a large fieldstone house and elevator which exist today.

Two churches in Virden-Wallace District are of more than ordinary significance. Both are Anglican churches, reflecting the strong Anglo-Saxon heritage of the district. St. Mary's Church in Virden, built in 1885, was the first church in the district. The present church was constructed in 1892. Its strong fieldstone construction makes it an outstanding example of the early widespread use of fieldstone in a community bereft of construction materials.

St. Mark's Church, erected in 1887, was the first church built in Elkhorn. The congregational life of this church was closely associated with the mission work of the Anglican Church at Elkhorn Industrial School.

The Indian Residential School in Elkhorn was first established in 1889 by Rev. E.F. Wilson as an Indian Home called Washakada. The school passed through various organizational phases until its closure in 1949. Dismantled in 1951, the brick buildings of the school had dominated both the landscape and development of Elkhorn for sixty

years. The school provided the only secondary industry in the village. One of the most southern of Anglican residential schools in Manitoba, the school's philosophy represented a Victorian method of dealing with the illiteracy and poverty of western Indians, a method which was abandoned in the mid-twentieth century.

Mary Montgomery School in Virden was the home of the first consolidated school district in Manitoba, formed in 1905. Built of white brick in 1905, the two-storey school was originally titled Virden Public School. It was renamed in 1963 in honour of a teacher who had devoted fifty years to promoting education in the district. The school is still in use as a primary school.

The Virden Auditorium has already been designated as a heritage site. The "Aud" is the oldest remaining example of a municipally-owned theatre recreation facility in Manitoba.

The offices of the Virden Empire-Advance warrant mention because the Empire-Advance, an amalgamation of the Virden Advance, established in 1885, and the Virden Empire, established in 1905, is the oldest functioning commercial establishment in the district. More importantly, the newspaper has been a reflection of the spirit of the community.

Two military organizations have contributed to the development of the region and to the welfare of Canada. Although few physical remains exist to mark their importance as potential heritage sites, both the Twelfth Manitoba

Dragoons and the No. 19 Elementary Flying Training School gave residents of Virden-Wallace a military opportunity to demonstrate the strong ties which bound the Anglo-Saxon citizenry to the British Empire-Commonwealth. The Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons Regiment, known throughout its history by various names, was first established in 1885 during the North West Rebellion and it was centered in Virden until 1970. Few Manitoba towns have enjoyed the distinction of supporting their own regiment.

The Elementary Flying Training School No. 19. was established in 1940 as part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Program, an essential part of Canada's contribution to the Allied effort in World War II. Although other training schools were established across Manitoba, Virden's was the only Elementary Flying Training School to operate throughout the war.

II. An Overview of the Development of Virden-Wallace Planning District

A. Geography of Virden-Wallace District

The most dominant geographical feature of the planning district is the rolling nature of the land. The early surveyors' reports described the various townships as containing "undulating prairie". At the time of settlement this prairie was almost devoid of trees, due to the all-consuming prairie fires that had continuously swept over the land. Today numerous bluffs dot the prairie. Though some of these were planted to stop soil erosion during the 1930's, the majority developed naturally after prairie fires ceased to be a hazard.

Though numerous creeks flow across the district in a southeasterly direction, the two main watercourses are the Assiniboine which crosses the northeastern corner of the R.M. of Wallace, and Pipestone Creek which cuts across the southwestern corner.

A description of both these waterways and the land between was recorded by Henry Y. Hind in 1858 when his expedition explored the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan region.

Pipestone Creek is 20 feet broad at our crossing place, with a swift current, and a depth of water varying from 1 1/2 to 3 feet. The valley is narrow, but rich and beautiful in comparison with the desolate prairie lying to the south. Among the trees fringing its banks the ash leaved maple is most numerous.....On the hills in its

neighborhood boulders are uniformly distributed.....

The level character of the country disappears after passing Pipestone Creek: the prairie is either undulating and sandy, or varied with low hills of drift, on which boulders are scattered.....We camped at Boss Hill Creek, which flows into the Assiniboine through a broad valley among low hills and gentle slopes.....

We arrived at the Assiniboine about ten miles southeast of the Two Creeks, after passing through a rolling prairie of light sandy soil, and in many places covered with boulders. Small "hummocks" of aspens and clumps of partially burnt willows, were the only representatives of an extensive aspen forest which formerly covered the country between the Boss [hill] Creek and the Assiniboine.....

The approach to this river [Assiniboine] is made by descending a steep slope which forms the boundary of the prairie two or three miles from its present excavated valley. The plateau thus formed is covered with erratics, consisting of granite, gneiss, limestone, etc. The broad subordinate excavation in which the river flows is about one mile across, and from 200 to 250 feet deep. The narrow plateau covered with boulders points to a former condition of the Assiniboine Valley, when a much larger river flowed in a wider and shallower valley 200 feet above its present level.¹

The only forests of any stature were located in the valley of the Assiniboine, and it was either to these, or to Moose Mountain at the end of Pipestone Creek in present-day Saskatchewan, that early settlers had to travel to obtain fuel.

The larger creeks in the district: Bosshill, Gopher, and Scallion, all intersect around the townsite of Virden. The many creeks provide drainage into the Assiniboine River or Oak Lake. Many early settlers saw these waterways as a boon. Poor drainage which afflicted the flatter lands of south central Manitoba were rarely a problem in Wallace

municipality. In fact many of the creeks became dry watercourses by late summer. This has necessitated the preservation and control of water resources in southern Wallace, resulting in the placement of small dams on some of the creeks.

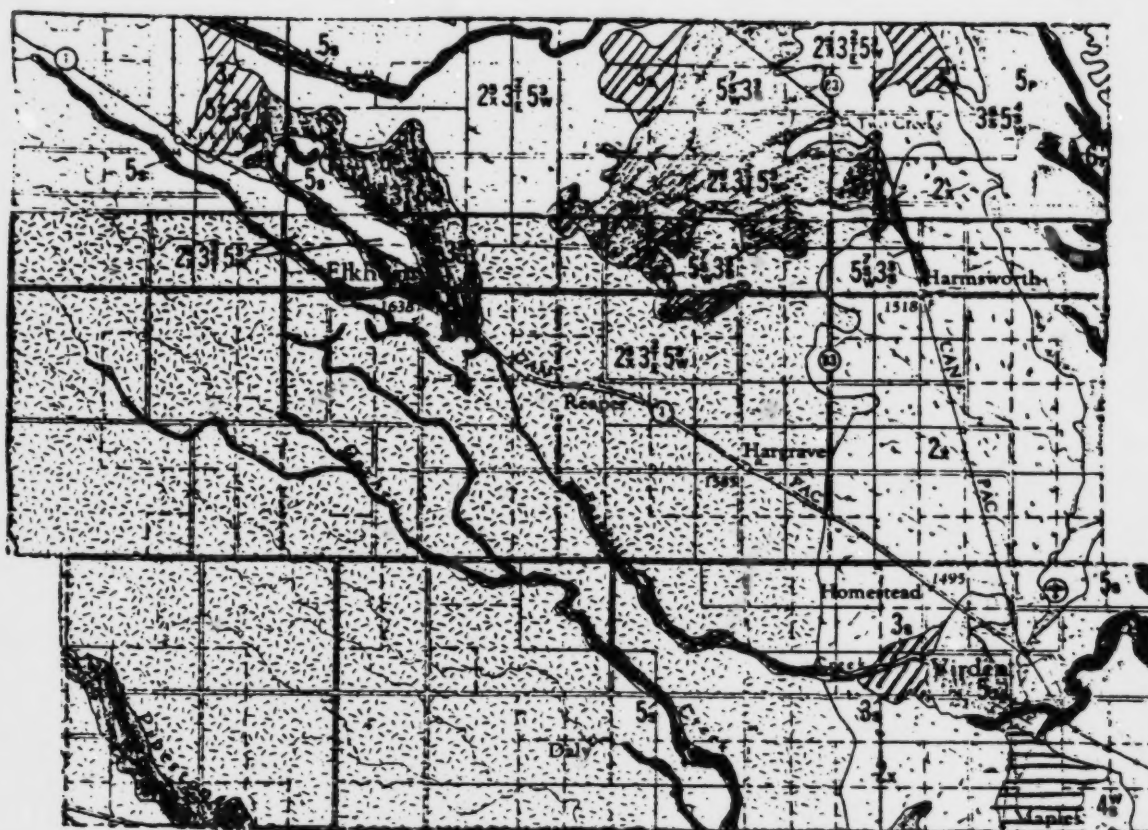
Northern Wallace has an abundance of sloughs. The early surveyors noted the many ponds and marshes in townships 11 and 12, Range 29, in townships 10, 12, Range 28, and in Township 12 Range 27. Here grew tall buffalo grass. This same tall grass could be found in the valleys of the watercourses. For this reason, these areas were considered ideal for cattle grazing. Much of the land in Township 12, ranges 26 and 29 was eventually converted into community pastures.

Almost every variety of soil can be found in the district. A newspaper reporter in 1902 promoted the district with this description of its soil resources.

Just around Virden and to the south of Gopher Creek, the soil is very light but...its character entirely changes once the banks of the creek are crossed. While to the south the soil is very light and sandy, and needs careful cultivation and frequent putting into grass to ensure good crops: to the north of the creek the soil is rich loam, of great fertility.....West of Virden the land improves in quality, and is excelled but by few districts in the west....Along the valley of the Pipestone the soil is a limestone clay, that produces an abundant yield in almost every season...²

In the western portion of the district around Elkhorn, the same undulating prairie exists. Township 11, Range 28

Soils Capability: Wallace R.M.



- | | |
|---|---|
|  | Class 2: Soils with moderate limitations |
|  | Class 3: Soils with moderately severe limitations |
|  | Class 4: Soils with severe limitations |
|  | Class 5: Soils with very severe limitations. |
|  | Class 6: Soils capable of producing forage crops |

has good soil of dark clay and clay subsoil, sometimes mixed with sand and gravel. Township 10, Range 28 has dark sandy loam soil with clay and gravel subsoil. Similar soils are found in townships 10 and 12, Range 29. The early surveyors identified Township 10, Range 27 as having very good soil, with six to ten inches (15-25 cm) of alluvial deposit over very black clay loam. Township 11, Range 27 was identified as having eighteen inches (45 cm) of black soil with yellow loam underlying. These soils probably possess the best grain-growing potential of any in the district.

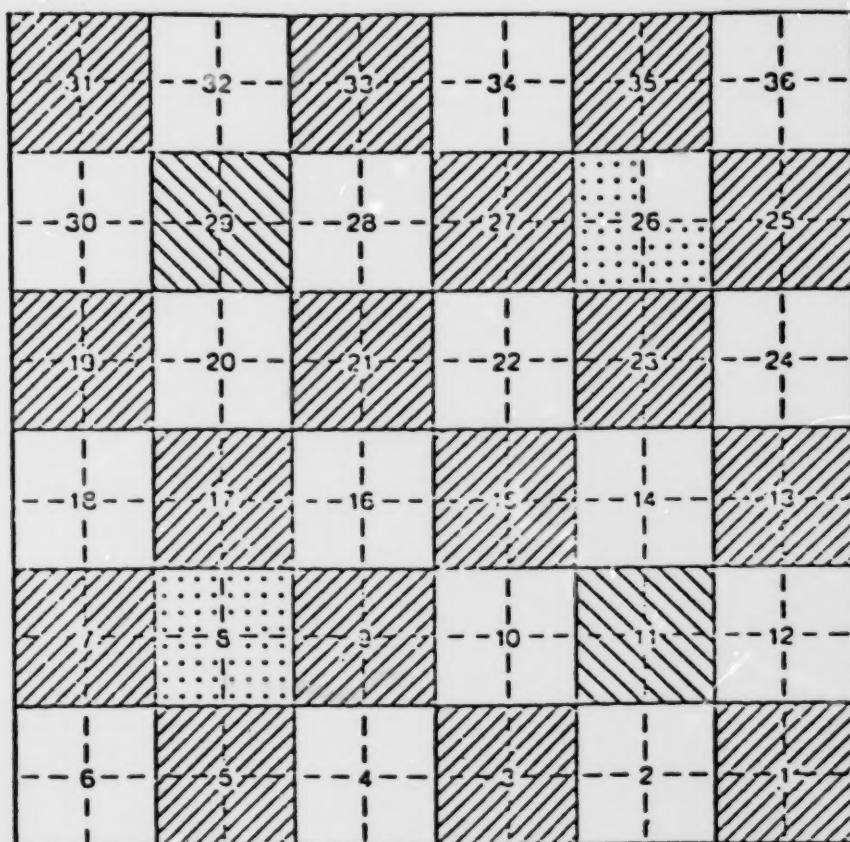
According to the Department of Agriculture Land Inventory, most of Wallace municipality contains class two soils, which means they have few agricultural limitations. The area immediately north of Elkhorn in Township 11, Range 28, as well as most of Township 12, Range 27 and part of Range 26, and the area immediately north and southeast of Virden townsite, all contain class five soils. This indicates they have severe agricultural limitations. For the greatest part these areas contain either light sandy soil or gravel ridges. Fortunately, at a later date, the farmers of the light soils around Virden were compensated by the discovery of oil deposits there.

B. Early Settlement in Manitoba

1. Method of Land Settlement

When control of the Canadian North West was transferred from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada in

DISPOSITION OF A HYPOTHETICAL TOWNSHIP, 1881



- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Free Homestead Lands | ☒ School Lands |
| ☒ Railway or Public Lands | ☒ Hudson's Bay Company Lands
(The whole of section 26 in every fifth township) |

Source: Tyman, John L. By Section Township and Range. p. 24.

1870, the land had to be surveyed for settlement. The river-lot system practised in Red River was not extended elsewhere. Instead, the territory was divided into six mile (9.65 km) square townships, each containing 36 sections of 640 acres (259 ha) each. These sections were further divided into quarter sections of 160 acres (64.75 ha) each.

Townships began at the international boundary and formed horizontal grid lines. Vertical grid lines running north and south were called ranges. Ranges began at the Principal Meridian, established in 1869 just west of Winnipeg.

According to this system the municipality of Wallace was laid out in twelve townships, consisting of 432 sections of land. The surveyors were present in Wallace between 1879-1884.³

In each Manitoba township sections 11 and 29 were traditionally reserved as school lands. The sale of these lands financed the building of educational facilities in each township. Some of the twenty-four school sections in Wallace were offered for sale 1 January 1893. The remainder were offered for sale 4 November 1906.⁴ Many of the school sections in the stoney areas, however, remained unsold until much later.

Section 8 and all or three-quarters of section 26 were reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company according to the deed of transfer between the company and the Canadian government. This gave the company control of 22 sections of land in

Wallace. These lands were more expensive than the lands available for homestead. Therefore, except for the better quality sections, for the most part these Hudson's Bay lands remained unsold until after 1900.

The Dominion Lands Act was altered after 1881 to provide land grants to subsidize the building of railways in Western Canada. Every odd-numbered section within a thirteen-mile (20 km) radius of the Canadian Pacific Railway mainline became C.P.R. property. Added to this were parts or all of the sections on which the railway stations were located. The C.P.R. controlled 191.75 sections of land in Wallace municipality. A large percentage of this land was purchased for resale by the Canada North West Land Company, but never patented directly to this development company. This rendered the lands untaxable (as were all C.P.R. lands) until they were resold to a third party. The lands of the Canada North West Land Company (C.N.W.L.C.) were first offered for sale in October 1882, at prices twice as high as the C.P.R. had received for them. At inflated prices of \$6.50 per acre (\$16.25 per hectare), the company sold a total of 7500 acres (3035.25 ha) across the West during the real estate boom of 1882.⁵ Thereafter the lands moved slowly, despite advertising by the company. In 1893 the C.N.W.L.C. was acquired by the C.P.R. and its lands were thereafter administered by the railway's own land commissioner. According to an 1898 Virden Board of Trade map, the Canada North West Land Company still held 35 unsold

sections in Wallace municipality. Unsold C.P.R. lands accounted for another 68 sections. At this time both companies were offering their lands for \$3.00 per acre (\$7.50 per hectare).⁴

A major conflict developed between the municipal governments and the C.N.W.L.C. over the company's refusal to render taxes. Because the land had not been patented to C.N.W.L.C. but rather held by them for resale, they claimed a catch in the tax laws rendered their lands immune to taxation. Since in some areas nearly half the land was held by the development company, this non-payment of taxes caused a severe financial hardship for the municipal governments. The reeves of Wallace and the surrounding municipalities in 1888 first sought the aid of the provincial government in this dispute. Unsuccessful there, they hired a lawyer and proceeded to fight their battle in the courts. Shortly afterward, the land company offered the councils of Virden and Wallace a settlement consisting of one-quarter of the back taxes and one-quarter of the future taxes. The offer was indignantly rejected.⁷ Eventually the matter was settled by the acquisition of the company by the C.P.R., whose lands by law were exempt from taxation. According to the 1908 tax rolls for Virden, the C.P.R. and C.N.W.L.C. still owned over half the lots in Virden townsite.

According to the Dominion Lands Act of 1870 any person who was the head of a family, or a single man twenty-one years of age or over, was entitled to apply for a 160 acre

(64.75 ha) homestead by paying a \$10 registration fee. The land would be patented to him after three years residence in which specific improvements had been accomplished. All even-numbered sections not already spoken for were made available. For a limited time between 1882-89, in order to correct the drift of settlers to America, homesteaders who had obtained patents for their original homesteads were allowed to file again. This system, because it offered no limit to the number of entries a man could make, was not practical. It encouraged men to grab more land than they could properly farm. Quite a number of second homesteads were registered in the Virden area. A total of 154.75 sections of land were allotted in homestead grants in the district. (To obtain this figure and for simplification, the early 80 acre (32.4 ha) homestead with an additional 80 acre (32.4 ha) pre-emption has been classified as a 160 acre (64.75 ha) homestead.)

Between 1872 and 1889 a pre-emption privilege allowed the homesteader to purchase the quarter-section adjoining his homestead for a dollar an acre (\$2.50 per hectare). In Wallace municipality 23.5 sections of land were allotted in this manner.

Another method of acquiring land was through "scrip", or confirmation of squatter's rights. In 1874 the Canadian government set aside a grant of 1.4 million acres (566,580 ha) of land for the benefit of Métis settlers who had inhabited Manitoba before the 1870 land transfer. Since few

Métis had inhabited the Virden-Wallace district even on a semi-permanent basis, none of these scrip grants was allotted there.

Special land grants were issued in return for some service to the government either during the 1885 rebellion, or through membership in the North West Mounted Police. Four sections of land were given as special land grants in Wallace, but the basis of such grants is not known.

In 1898 the government set aside lands for the support of the University of Manitoba. Wallace municipality contained seven sections set aside as university grants. Allotted on unclaimed homestead sections, most of the grants were located in the western regions of the district.

After 1900 unclaimed homestead lands were offered for sale. Generally of an inferior quality, these lands had been by-passed by the early pioneers. If they adjoined a developed farm they had value as additional pasture for the farmer. Only five sections were disposed of by direct sale in Wallace municipality. Most of these sales replaced the discontinued pre-emption clause of the Lands Act.

2. Pattern of Settlement in Manitoba

Farmers on the thin soils of the Pre-Cambrian Shield, and along Lake Huron in Ontario began to follow the Dawson Trail to Red River after 1870, and thence to spread out and occupy the deep soils of the new province of Manitoba. They

first settled on the prairie lands northeast and northwest of Winnipeg. More followed the Saskatchewan Trail to Portage la Prairie and onward to the banks of the Whitemud River. Further settlement was along the Boundary Commission Trail in the Pembina Mountains, the Assiniboine watershed, and the Turtle Mountains.

The flow of settlers from Ontario and Britain mounted steadily to 28,600 in 1881.^a Settlers followed the three branches of the Saskatchewan Trail and settled the areas around Minnedosa, Neepawa, and Shoal Lake. Rapid City developed in the valley of the Little Saskatchewan River.

Between 1876 and 1881, due to the high level waters, steamboat navigation was possible on the Assiniboine River. The voyages called attention to the great central valley, and in 1879 settlements at Grand Rapids on the Assiniboine at the Souris mouth began to fill the front between the Little Saskatchewan River and the Turtle Mountains.

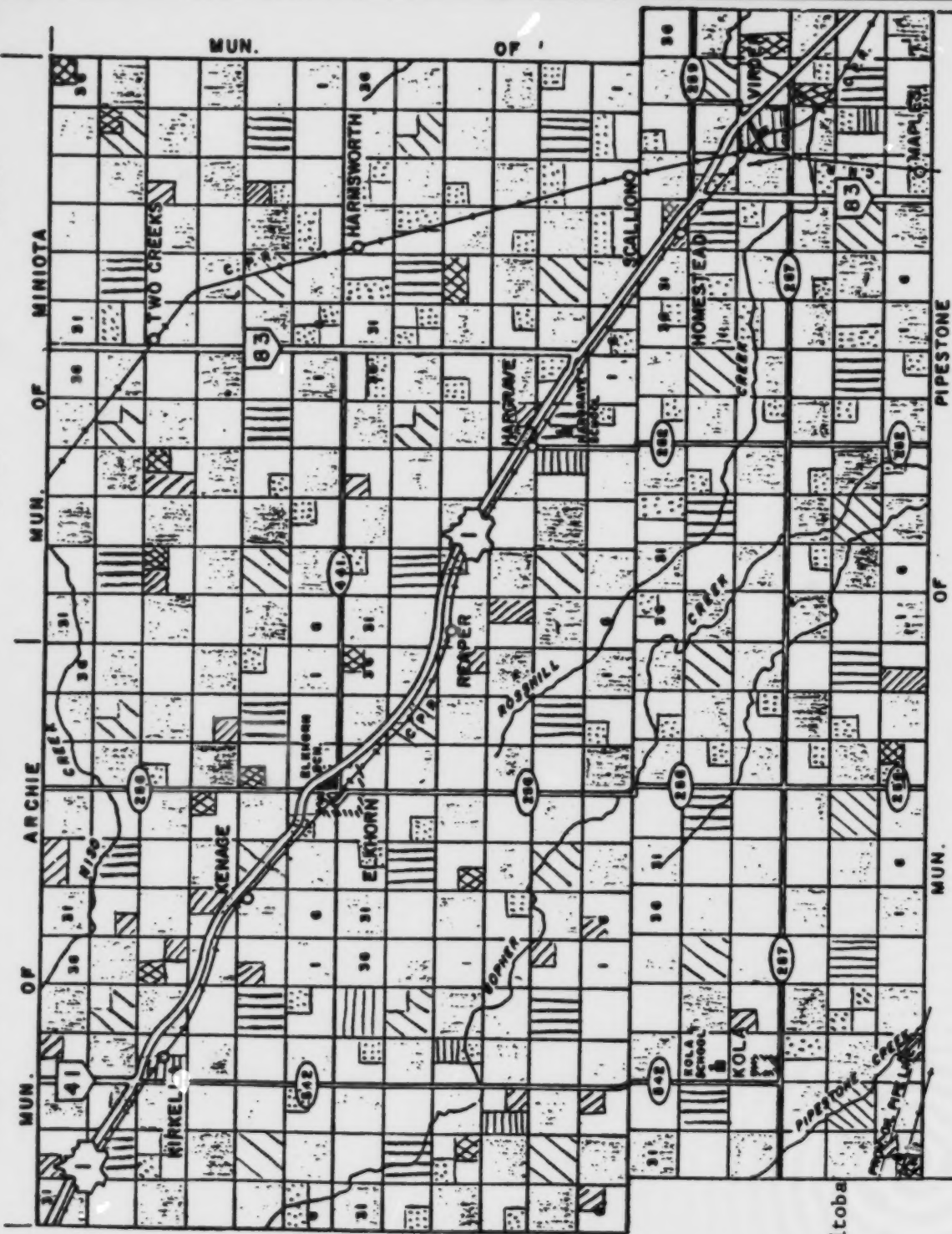
The spread of settlement from 1876-81 was a response not only to the lure of rich wheatlands but also to the quickening of railway construction. The construction of the transcontinental railway went firmly ahead with the formation of the Canadian Pacific Railway company in 1880. As the mainline passed through Manitoba, it was accompanied by a real estate boom. The boom gave impetus to the spread of settlement into the central region of the Assiniboine valley, hitherto uninhabited. Settlers flocked to the good lands along the C.P.R. mainline.

Rge. 29 W.

26 W.

27 W.

26 W.



CPR Grant

Hudson Bay

Homestead

Pre-Emption Sale

University of Manitoba

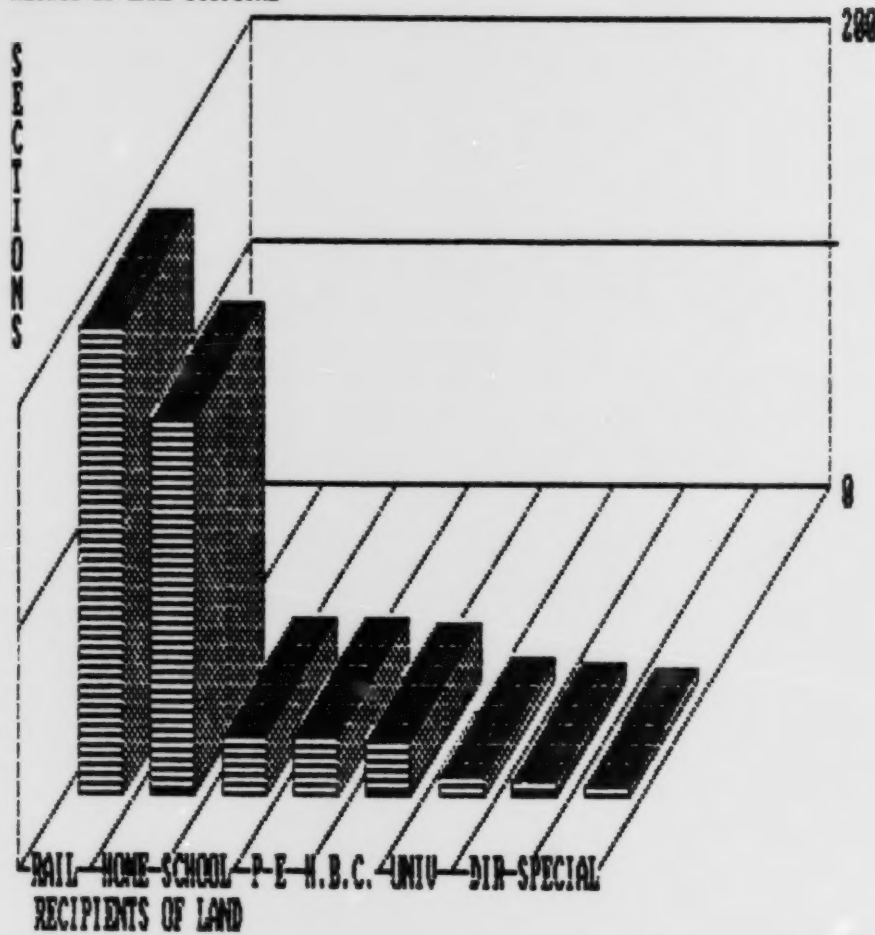
School Land Sale

Special Grants

Sale

Method of Land Disposal in Wallace R.M.

METHOD OF LAND DISPOSAL



- Rail - Railway Grants
- Home - Homestead Grants
- School - School Lands
- P.E. - Pre-Emption Sales
- H.B.C. - Hudson Bay Company Grants
- Univ. - University Grants
- Dir. - Direct Land Sales
- Special - Special Grants

Method of Land Disposal in Wallace R.M.
 (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

Westward from Brandon, Virden, Pipestone, and Oak Lake sprang up as the railway passed on in 1882, and the rolling prairie where plain and parkland merge south of the great eastward curve of the Assiniboine, was dotted with settlers' shacks and the black squares of ploughed fields.⁹

Thus had settlement reached the frontiers of the future municipality of Wallace.

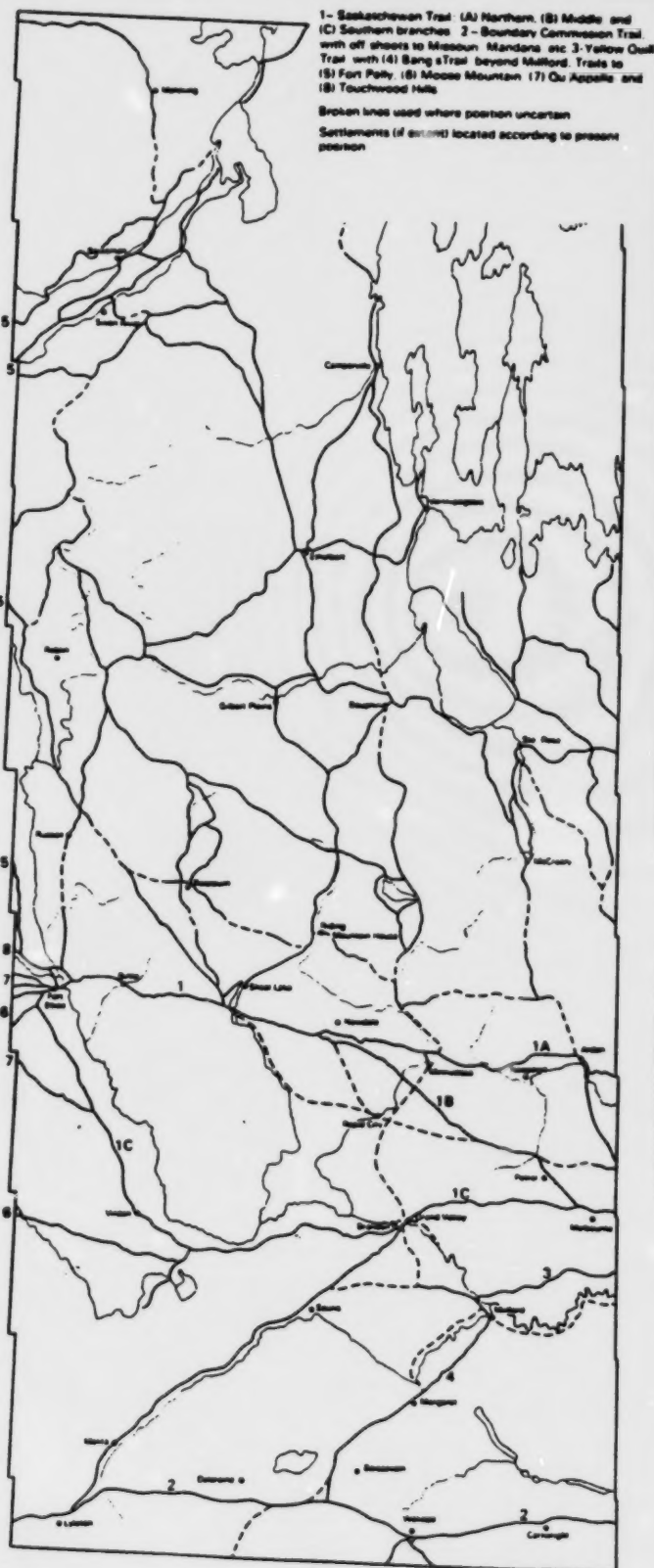
C. Pattern of Settlement in Virden-Wallace Planning District

Land quality was not thought to be the first prerequisite of potential homesteaders. Initial review was usually given to the land's proximity to major trails, to railway loading points, to service centres, and to points of entry. Next the settler considered the presence or absence of flowing water and woodlands, then land quality and land availability.¹⁰

The surveyors identified two early trails existing in Wallace. One of these was a branch of the Saskatchewan or Fort Ellice Trail which ran from Grand Valley straight west to Flat Creek (Oak Lake). From there it took a northwesterly route, passing through Gopher Creek (Virden) and Two Creeks. A second trail followed the Pipestone to Moose Mountain.

The cart trail to Fort Ellice entered Wallace on NE12-10-26, meandered up through 22-10-26 (the future townsite of Virden), and continued northwesterly through townships 11, 12, Range 26. Much of the homestead land available along the

INDIAN TRAILS, TRADERS' TRACKS AND COLONIZATION ROADS



Map of trails showing 3 branches of Fort Ellice Trail.
 (Source: Tyman, J. L. By Section, Township and Range,
 p. 18)

trail was settled in 1881-2, and much more was claimed by 1886.

The Moose Mountain Trail entered the district in 6-10-28 and angled across the southern portion of Township 10, Range 29. It exited Wallace on NW7-10-29. The trail provided easier access to the Pipestone Creek region than from the railway disembarking points at Virden and Elkhorn. Early settlers to this district arrived in 1881-2 and most travelled overland to reach the territory.

The first settlers in Wallace municipality did indeed choose homesteads near these major trails. The earliest settlements were along Gopher Creek in Township 10, Range 26, at Two Creeks in Township 12 at the junction of ranges 26 and 27, and on the north bank of Pipestone Creek in Township 10, Range 29. Another area of early settlement was in the Joslin-Montgomery area in Township 11, Range 26, which also lay close to the Fort Ellice Trail.

The settlement at Gopher Creek began in 1881, preceding the laying of track through Wallace. The area was accessible to potential settlers who walked from the end-of-steel at Flat Creek. In spring 1882 Joseph Young and William Gyles walked from end-of-steel to open up the Springvale district. That same year Charles Freeman walked from Rapid City to claim a part of 22-12-28, thus beginning the Burnbank district.

At the end of 1881, with railway construction stalled at Flat Creek, Cornelius Van Horne was hired as general

manager of the C.P.R., in the hopes of ending the tremendous land speculation which had reached notorious proportions along the line of the railway. Land speculation scandals, such as the one in Brandon involving senior C.P.R. officials, were diverting attention from the company's most important objective, the completion of the railway.

By June 1882 the C.P.R. tracks had reached a point 125 miles (201 km) further west of Flat Creek.¹¹ By the end of December the company was 349 miles (561 km) further west.¹² Thus the C.P.R. line across Wallace was completed in 1882, giving access along its route to new potential settlers. From Virden station, settlement spread into the region around Bosshill Creek. Early pioneers, Andrew Pollock and John Kerr had already reached the adjoining Pacific district in 1881 after travelling up the Assiniboine by steamboat. The remaining homesteads in townships 10, 11, Range 27 were now claimed.

Settlement in townships 11 and 12, Range 28 emanated from Elkhorn station which became the other disembarkation point in Wallace for newcomers from Ontario and the British Isles.

Over half the early settlers in Virden-Wallace appear to have been from the British Isles.¹³ The next largest group of pioneers was from Ontario. Around 1902 there was an "American invasion" with Minnesotans purchasing "proved-up" farms from earlier homesteaders.

The high number of Englishmen and Scotsmen in the district accounted for the fact that early churches were all Anglican and Presbyterian. As well, pressure from these settlers caused the high priority given to the creation of academic institutions and social amenities. As well, they gave the district a very pro-Empire mentality, and accounted for the early establishment of a regiment which contributed to all the later world struggles involving the British Empire.

The reserve and "stiff upper lip" characteristic of the British has been predominant in the district since its early years. An example was the lack of public attention accorded the adverse conditions endured by the inhabitants during the depression and drought of the 1930's. The Virden Empire-Advance reported little evidence of the hardships that must have existed because, as it stated later, people in the district were too proud to air their troubles in public. A more recent example of the reserve of the citizens was the quiet caution and lack of outright exhuberance that accompanied the Virden oil strike of 1951.

By 1900 homestead land was no longer available in Wallace municipality except on the gravelly ridges bordering the Assiniboine River valley in townships 11, 12, Range 26. Most of this would never be successfully claimed. What remained were the more expensive, and often less desirable, lands owned by the railway and Hudson's Bay Company. Much of this land was in Township 12, ranges 27, 28, and in Township

Rge. 29 W.

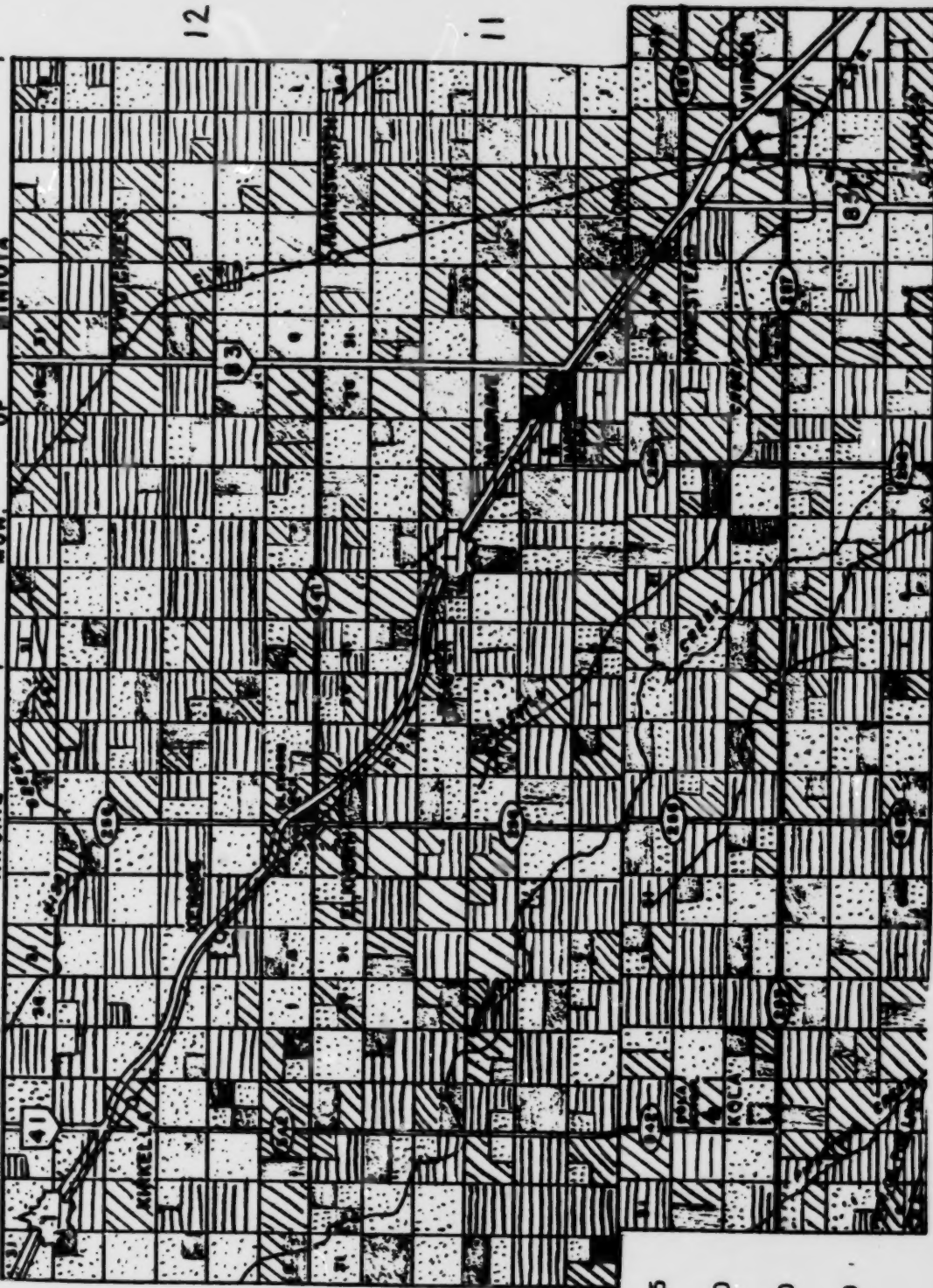
28 W.

27 W.

26 W.

MUN. OF ARCHIE

MUN. OF MINNIOTA



- 1881-1885
- 1885-1890
- 1890-1900
- 1900-1940

Years of Land Settlement in Virden-Wallace Planning District

SETTLEMENT OF LAND



Years of Land Settlement in Wallace R.M.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)

11. Range 29. All the 130 sections still available for settlement in Wallace in 1900 were owned by these two companies.

Nearly all the 82 sections settled between 1881-5 were homesteaded. The 102.75 sections claimed between 1885-90 were predominantly homesteads. Between 1890-1900, 117.50 sections were settled but the majority of these were purchased.

D. Colonization Schemes

1. Gopher Creek Colony

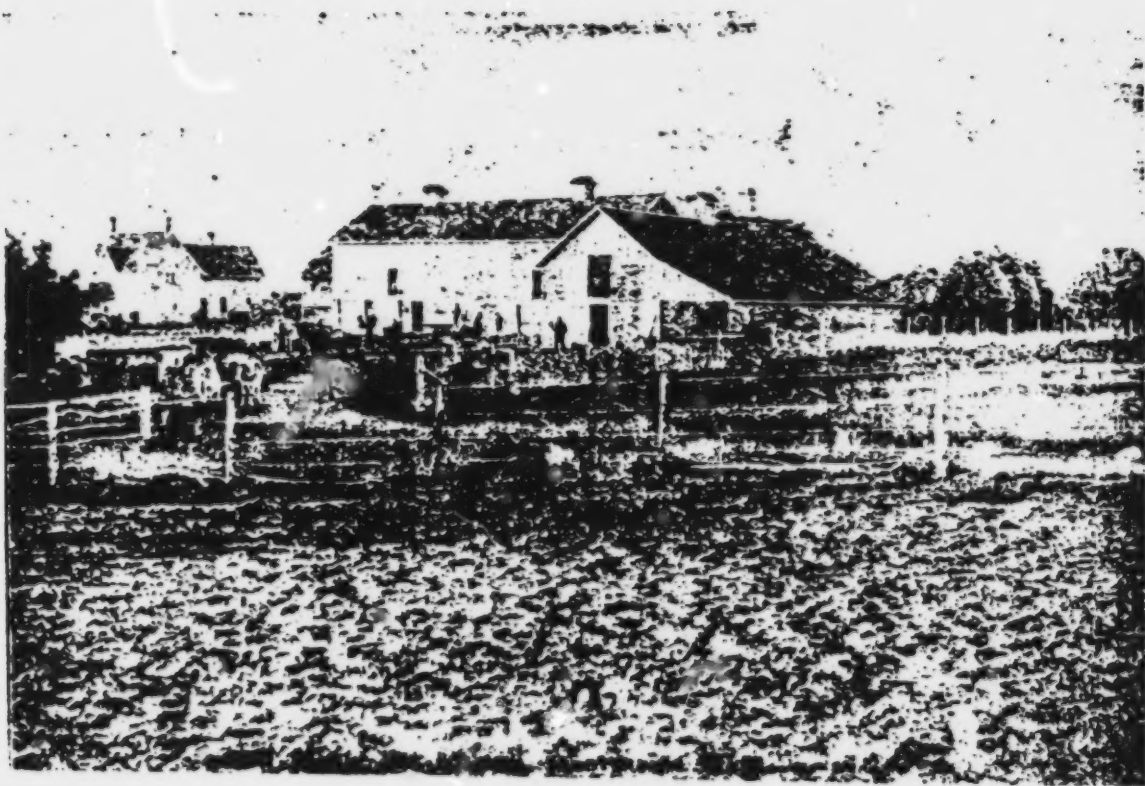
Several colonization schemes were undertaken within the R.M. of Wallace. The first of these began in 1885 and was directed by George Stephen, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, for which duties he was later knighted. His cousin, William Stephen was the first of the colonists to arrive at Gopher Creek. Either by himself or with financial backing from his cousin, he purchased the W1/2 24-10-26 in 1887.¹⁴ George Stephen purchased all of 13-10-26 from the C.P.R. in 1889.¹⁵ He chose this site because of the many sloughs, thinking the relatives he intended to settle there would always have an abundance of water. Shortly afterward all the draws and hollows adjacent to Gopher Creek dried up and the soil was found to be light and sandy, and always lacking in moisture. The region turned out to be one of the few areas in Wallace with class 5 soils.

To 13-10-26 George Stephen brought out three families of relatives from Scotland: the Stephens, Stanfords, and Bennetts. George Stephen had fine buildings erected on the site and purchased purebred livestock. It was his aim to make Gopher Creek colony a model of progressive farming in the West. An 1886 visit to the farm by the editor of the Viriden Advance resulted in this newspaper description.

The farm of Sir George Stephen

is under the management of William Stephen, the cousin of Sir George who has also an interest in the property. He thoroughly understands the working of a farm on a large scale, having been brought up to the business in Scotland....I found Mr. Stephen...attending to the stock which consists for the most part of fine bred cattle. There are 75 head, principally shorthorns, and horses are Clydesdales. The farm, nearly a thousand acres in extent has a very pretty situation and is arranged with taste; the farm house and out buildings are substantially built on a bluff and surrounded on nearly every side by shrubs and trees. Over 2000 bushels of excellent wheat, bringing a minimum price of 65 cents per bushel, was threshed last year. Oats, a large crop, brought from 40 to 50 cents. There was also barley, turnips, etc....¹⁶

Although the Stephen farm was thought to be one of the most beautiful in the district and was often the site of picnics and "flying" visits from Sir George Stephen, most of the families gradually left the colony, defeated by the poor soil conditions.¹⁷



William Stephen's Gopher Creek Farm, 13-10-26, 1892. (Source: Western World Volume 3. No. 26. April 1892, p. 79.)

2. The Rankin Estate

A second colonization scheme was the work of Sir James Rankin, a wealthy Heresford landowner in England. As the chairman of the Emigration Committee of the British House of Commons, he saw the opening of the Canadian West as an opportunity to relocate surplus farm labourers from England. When the British government rejected his plan to resettle these families under large colonization schemes, he embarked on a smaller plan of his own.

In the Canadian West railway lands were available for purchase by an enterprising person who could meet cultivation conditions and hold the land for resale after improvements. He could alternatively assume the role of a landlord. James Rankin took advantage of this to purchase 11,000 acres (4451 ha) from the C.P.R. during the boom of 1881-2.¹⁸ This land was located in the Two Creeks district, around Moosomin, and around Whitewood, Saskatchewan.

Rankin appointed H.M. Power as resident manager of his scheme. Power arrived in 1882 and assisted by Cowley Webster, a former survey team member, selected lands for Rankin. Among those selected were five and one-half sections in the Two Creeks district. Located between the many creeks and the Assiniboine River, this land had an abundant supply of wood and water. Most of this Assiniboine Farm, as it came to be known, was cut up by other land holdings.

With the exception of 31-12-26, this land was all located within Township 13, ranges 26, 27, in Archie

municipality. Because it bordered Wallace municipality however, the Rankin colony was instrumental in encouraging settlement in the northern portion of Township 12, ranges 26, 27. Webster himself homesteaded E1/2 36-12-27.

In 1883 Power went to Missouri to obtain 40 mules for breaking the land. On 1-13-27, chosen as the centre of the settlement, he had a large barn constructed to house them. Houses were erected by George Coles on the various other properties. But "The Barn", as the central farm became known, always dominated the settlement. All trails led to it. Once the buildings were completed, Power awaited the arrival of the settlers Rankin had sent out from England. Disappointingly, most chose to stay in Winniepeg. Two families, the Reeves and Crumps, settled on the land. Descendants of the Reeves family still farm 31-12-26.

Power hired 20-30 men in spring 1883 to break more land. Many of these were neighboring farmers who hired out with their teams. This employment was a financial God-send to these settlers. Among the new men hired, some remained in the district as settlers, notably Jim and William Morton, who became leading citizens of the Two Creeks district.

By 1884, 1700 acres (688 ha) were broken on the estate, and ten small houses had been erected at Rankin's expense, with a view to working the land on the half-profit system.¹⁹ Unfortunately the colonization scheme was plagued by early frosts, low wheat prices, and a disastrous drought in 1889. In 1885 thirty mules were stolen by horse thieves. They

never were recovered. Eventually Rankin disposed of the properties. The lands were first offered to the settlers who had leased them.

3. James A.M.Aikin's Hungarian Colony

James Aikin was an Ontario lawyer who relocated in Manitoba in 1879. He served as counsel for the C.P.R. from 1881-1911. Thereafter he became the Conservative Member of Parliament for Brandon. He served as Manitoba's Lieutenant-Governor from 1916-26.

Through his connections with the C.P.R. Aikin acquired considerable land in western Wallace along the Saskatchewan border. His holdings included 27-11-29 and 5-12-29 in the Mossiel district. To his Mossiel farm he imported 1400 sheep from Montana in 1913; eventually he owned a flock of 2000 sheep. The farm was always operated by hired men.²⁰

After World War I Aikin encouraged a group of Hungarians from Europe to settle on his land. The new settlers were supervised by Robert Bussey. With the depression, most of the Hungarians abandoned the drought-plagued land and moved further westward. The scheme was abandoned and the land sold. Aikin himself had died in 1929.

4. Netherlands American Land Company Limited

Among the many land speculation companies active in Manitoba following the opening of virgin soils by the construction of the C.P.R., was the Netherlands American

Land Company. Composed of wealthy Dutchmen from Amsterdam, the company in 1884 purchased 50,000 acres (20235 ha) in the mile-belt of land along the C.P.R. mainline between Virden and Wolseley, Saskatchewan.²¹ The company produced an Official Guidebook to Lands of the Netherlands American Land Company in 1885, describing among others, the "choice" lands they held in Township 11, ranges 26, 27, 28, Township 10, ranges 28, 29, and Township 12, Range 29. All were "well suited to agriculture".²² The company, like the North West Land Company, was not very successful in marketing lands purchased from the C.P.R. for resale. Consequently, in 1892, in an effort to avoid paying taxes on the undeveloped lands, the company returned them to the C.P.R. whose land commissioner took responsibility for selling them. The price was subsequently reduced to \$4.00 per acre (\$10.00 per hectare) with generous terms.²³

E. The Formation of Communities

1. Virden

In 1882, along Gopher Creek, tents sprang up to serve the construction crews laying the tracks of the C.P.R. The location was a mile (1.6 km) east of the present townsite of Virden. Soon tradesmen began to open small businesses to serve the railway workers. In September 1882 a post office was also opened.

Gopher Creek was bridged in 1883 and trains began to haul construction supplies and new settlers. The C.P.R. and the Canada North West Land Company laid out a townsite on 22-10-26, and named it Manchester in honour of the Duke of Manchester who was a shareholder in the Canada North West Land Company. Informed by the postal department that the name of Manchester had already been registered by another post office, the company changed the name to "Virden" possibly in honour of the Duke's country residence.²⁴

The temporary structures at Gopher Creek were transferred to the more accessible townsite of Virden, which was described as

surrounded on three sides by Gopher Creek. It has thus a natural drainage of inestimable value. It is built on a small stretch of ground of a sandy nature, a spot that was clearly predestined by nature for a superior townsite. The usual monotony of a prairie region is relieved by a number of groves of poplar and other woods of natural growth.²⁵

This was a fine beginning for the town which was to become known as the "Little Tree Town of the West".

Located 180 miles (289 km) west of Winnipeg and 64 miles (103 km) west of Brandon, along the mainline of the C.P.R., Virden started with every advantage to promote her into one of the chief towns in western Manitoba. Her growth was rapid in the early years. By the end of 1883 she already boasted a school, regular church services in three denominations, and enough trades to supply the needs of



View of Virden from McBean's Elevator, 1891.
(Source: P.A.M.)



Virden Manitoba 1886.

View of Virden southwest of C.P.R. tracks, 1886. (Source: P.A.M.)

settlers flocking into the district. By 1885 the town had a population of 250 and serviced 5000 settlers in the surrounding area. The population increased to 350 the following year.²⁴

The first store had been erected in 1882 by Messrs. Frame and Miller, hardware dealers. By 1884 there were also two hotels, eight general stores, several blacksmith shops, a bank, several agricultural implement dealerships, two churches, and an Ogilvie elevator. The registry office for the County of Dennis was located in the village. Besides daily mail service, the village had weekly stage service to points north and south.²⁷

A flour mill was considered a necessity for the continued growth of any prairie centre. The construction of a flour mill in 1885 insured Virden would become the dominant centre not only of Wallace municipality, but of the County of Dennis.

The opening of a large lumberyard in January 1886 by W.G.Wyatt provided prospective settlers with an adequate supply of building materials. The opening of the lumberyard, as well as the creation of a brickyard in the early 1890's, was a boost for Virden's prospects. In 1905 the Virden Advance reported that

Virden, like all other towns has undergone the different stages of growth. 1882-1884 was the tent stage, next seven years was the wooden era, and then came the "stone age" when solid fire walls were erected of our native boulder stone, and now with the advent of our enterprising brick manufacturing business, has ushered in the "brick"

term. which is making the buildings of the present, with cement that of the future.²⁸

In accounting for Virden's growth as a business centre, the editor mused:

Virden has maintained her ascendancy and developed every latent possibility rather than to have grown by natural increase. Virden holds a premier place among the towns of western Manitoba because of her geographical position and partly because of the pushing enterprise of her citizens, neither of which alone could account for her continued progress...²⁹

Here the editor has provided a clue to the make-up of Virden's citizens. All her citizens were responsible for the town's progress. No one man stands out as the "father of Virden". This is unusual in an era in which all over the West, individuals, in creating their own commercial empires, were promoting the development of nearby centres. Examples of this in Manitoba would be R.P. Roblin in Carman, Major Boulton in Russell, F.Y. Newton in Roblin.

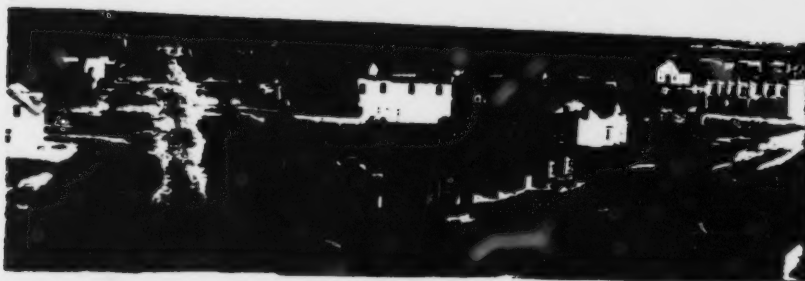
The continued growth of the centre resulted in the application for incorporation as a village in June 1890, once the hamlet had acquired the 500 inhabitants necessary for incorporation. A Board of Trade had been established in 1889, and it had pushed for village status. After incorporation, the Board of Trade began to lobby for such symbols of prosperity as an electric lighting plant, a Port of Entry, a proper town hall, and a fire brigade.

A fire brigade was first established in 1889, after the village had suffered its first major conflagration in the commercial district. A second fire in September 1892 caused \$60,000 damage and destroyed the Central Hotel and stables, Higgenbotham's Drugstore, and eight other businesses. This disaster led to the building of a proper brick firehall-townhall complex and the purchase of modern fire-fighting equipment in 1894.³⁰

A Port of Entry was established in 1895 with W.F. Scarth appointed as the collector of customs.³¹ An electric lighting plant was purchased in 1892.

The commercial development of the town was determined by the C.P.R. mainline's location on the southwest side of the village. Grain elevators and the station were built on the northeast side of the tracks. The C.P.R. also erected a stockyard just east of the Ogilvie elevator in 1886.³² Businesses grew up in the opposite direction, spreading out from a little huddle at the intersection of Sixth Avenue and Nelson Street, close to the station.

Most of the early homes were built in a residential district along Wellington Avenue, gradually spreading south and west. Wealthy prominent citizens built across the creek following the route of King Street. This section became known as Quality Hill and was dotted with substantial brick homes. Another residential area sprang up around the public school built on Ninth Avenue in 1905.



View of Virden, 1900 (Source: P.A.M.)

In a pamphlet produced in 1898 to entice new immigrants to settle in the Virden area, the Board of Trade boasted that Virden had a population of 1200, as well as,

six grain elevators, a good grist mill, six general stores, two lumberyards, three implement warehouses, two drugstores, two millineries, two harnessmakers, two bakers, three tailors, two flour and feed stores, three blacksmiths, one engine and machine shop, two wagonmakers, three hotels, a Union bank, a customs and inland revenue office.³³

As if the C.P.R. hadn't contributed enough to Virden's development by creating it along the company's mainline, the village was given another boost by the company's decision to build a branchline from Melita to Virden in 1892.³⁴ Although this railway line was never constructed, in 1908 a C.P.R. branchline did connect Virden with McAuley. This line interconnected with the Pheasant Hills Branch which ran from Kirkella to the provincial border. More good fortune arrived in the form of a Canadian Northern Railway spurline from the south, connecting Virden to Hartney in 1905.

By 1904 Virden had sufficient population and tax base to incorporate as a town. From that point onward her growth rate was steady, rising to 1548 by 1920.³⁵

The social development of Virden kept pace with her commercial development. The Turf Club opened in 1889, and in 1891 the Dennis County Agricultural Society began holding exhibitions on the grounds of the Turf Club. The advent of motor vehicles brought a decline in club membership, but



A minstrel troupe entertaining in Virden in 1886. Virden Auditorium was built in 1912 to provide proper facilities for entertainments such as this. (Source: P.A.M.)

horse racing remained a feature of the Virden Fair long after the Turf Club had passed into the pages of history. A tennis club, hockey club, baseball club, and rifle association were also formed during Virden's early years. As well, various lodges were active in the district.

Interest in cultural entertainment led to the creation of various drama and singing groups, beginning in 1885. The Operatic Society and the Virden Dramatic Society, both formed around 1910, created a need for facilities with better accoustic and seating arrangements, culminating in the building of the Virden Auditorium in 1912. Until the late 1960's the Auditorium was the centre of almost all cultural activities in Virden.

Virden's second period of development began in 1951 with the oil discovery. Until then Virden's progress had been slow but certain. At the time of the discovery the town's population was just over 1700. The town council had only recently found a solution to the problem of implementing a waterworks system, a problem which had plagued them since 1908. The successful establishment of a waterworks system depended upon an adequate water supply. By 1956 the influx of people rendered the water supply which the town acquired from the C.P.R. water tank inadequate. A gushing water supply, located on the east side of the Assiniboine, was tapped in 1957 by the laying of water pipes under the river by California Standard Oil Company while simultaneously laying their pipeline.

This was only one of the problems the town faced in dealing with the "boom". By 1956 the population had nearly doubled, jumping from 1746 to 3250.³⁴ This tremendous increase resulted in an immediate need for expanded housing, schools, and medical facilities. Fortunately the presence of sixteen producing oil wells within town limits provided the revenue to undertake the needed expansion.

A deal with the oil companies gave Virden fifty per cent of all returns from the oil after the cost of drilling had been recouped. The 640 acres (259 ha) of Virden were divided into forty-acre (16 ha) sections. On each forty acres (16 ha) one producing well could be located. Residents of those forty-acre (16 ha) plots shared the profits according to their holdings in the area. The Town received the profits from lands it held, while the provincial government received a share for the roads and streets it owned under Manitoba law.

Taxes however, were not lowered. The mayor, D.J.Reid, in 1957, stated:

Because we know people can afford to pay their taxes we're maintaining tax levels. And the town is collecting on oil, so we are plowing money into things we could never otherwise afford....No one knows how long it will last...perhaps twenty years or perhaps less. By the time that happens, we expect we'll have provided ourselves with things that are paid for and which we can continue to enjoy.³⁷

By 1960 the oil picture in Virden had changed, as firms dependent directly on booming oil field activity moved their

headquarters closer to the active scene of operations in Saskatchewan. Left behind was a solid nucleus of firms which supplied and serviced oil field equipment needed to service the 800-odd wells in the Virden area.

Real estate in Virden had changed too. Hundreds of new homes had been built, along with several trailer courts for the more transient population. When the economy began to gear down to normal after the boom, a legacy of public improvements which included the improved waterworks system, street paving, new recreation facilities, and new schools, remained. The period from 1960 to the present has been one of steady growth, more in keeping with the character of Virden's citizenry than the flashy oil boom which forced Virden into the limelight.

2. Elkhorn

Elkhorn is situated 200 miles (322 km) west of Winnipeg along the mainline of the C.P.R. and along the Trans Canada Highway. The village is twelve miles (19 km) east of the Saskatchewan border and eighteen miles (29 km) west of Virden. It is this northwestern location in Wallace municipality which has allowed Elkhorn to survive. Her trading area has always ranged from Maryfield and Fleming in the west, to McAuley in the north.

Elkhorn's location on NW34-11-28 and SW3-12-28 was determined by the existence of a large underground basin of water which was needed to fuel the steam engines of the

C.P.R. locomotives travelling across the prairie. Originally the townsite was to be located one mile (1.6 km) further west but the railway superintendent recommended its removal southeast due to the nature of the land. For years all C.P.R. locomotives stopped in Elkhorn for water and coal from one of the two coal docking stations the railway had erected there.

When the railway was under construction in 1882 Thomas Dahl, a Norwegian railworker, destined to become one of the area's first settlers, supposedly found a three-foot (.9 m) long elk's horn, thus giving the station its name.³⁸

John McLeod and his daughter Molly opened a tent store near the railway station in 1882. Soon a handful of settlers joined them near the station. Still others, headed by Thomas Dahl and Frank Thomas, took up homesteads in the district, walking to Birtle to register their claims, and to have flour ground. McLeod soon replaced his temporary store with a large block containing a post office, store, and hall. By 1884 Elkhorn had a population of 200 people, Presbyterian church services, two hotels under construction, and weekly stage service north to Beulah.³⁹

Ten years later the village had almost 500 inhabitants, as well as,

three churches, an intermediate school, three general stores, a post office, a bakery, restaurant, hardware store, harness shop, flour and feed store, tinshop, barbershop, three meat shops, three livery stables, three blacksmith shops, two doctors, a veterinary surgeon, two millinery establishments, two insurance agents, a

notary public, an Indian home, about 100 Indian children, four grain elevators...a lumberyard, several stone masons and plasterers, a printing office, a curling club, an invincible football club, and will soon have a jeweller, grist mill, and agricultural society...and a creamery."⁴⁰

By 1905 the population exceeded 625 and the citizens petitioned for incorporation as a village. This was granted 2 January 1906.⁴¹ The first meeting of the town council was held in McLeod's hall with Mayor Wm. M. Cushing.

A new county court judicial division was centered in Elkhorn in June 1912.⁴² It included townships 11 and 12, ranges 29 and 30, territory which was taken from Virden County Court Division and Miniota Judicial Court Division. The court occupied the old stone school which had been replaced by a new brick public school the previous year.

Electricity came to Elkhorn in 1929 but a sewer and water system was not installed until 1963. In the meantime Elkhorn's post-war population levelled off at around 600.⁴³

Elkhorn's residents always enjoyed a healthy rivalry with Virden. Both enjoyed railway transportation connections superior to most Manitoba towns. In 1887 when Elkhorn post office was granted a money order office, the editor of the Virden Advance exhorted his readers: "Gentlemen arouse yourselves and petition for the same accommodation that is granted your sister town, Elkhorn."⁴⁴

The editor of the Elkhorn Advocate visited Virden regularly and wrote reports comparing her development.

usually unfavourably, with that of Elkhorn. For example, a 13 July 1893 article reported:

There are already many excellent buildings in the town which will rank favourably with those in Elkhorn....the post office is somewhat in advance of the Elkhorn one at present. The churches however, except the English church, are not in it with Elkhorn; of course they are more commodious but not so well built, or possessing such a commanding appearance and one would almost wish that the thousand dollars so willingly sacrificed on the shrine of Wasburn, Fakir, and Co. (a store) had been devoted to painting the churches. The next visit was to the school house...it is constructed on the same principles as the one at Elkhorn with the exception of being larger, but not admitting as much sunshine, thus giving it a more sombre appearance.⁴³

Later the editor noted the picturesque park-like natural setting of Virden:

There is no reason why Elkhorn should not become more picturesque by a background of trees if this nationally observed day [Arbor Day] was utilized for the good purpose it was intended and every property owner made it a custom to plant two or three trees each year...⁴⁴

If this were done, he mused, Elkhorn's citizens might "enjoy the privilege of a picnic with as little difficulty as Virden by just slipping out of our houses."

This rivalry was carried into sporting activities involving the towns as well, but never was it more obvious than when oil was being sought in the municipality. The Elkhorn Mercury reported each new well in relationship to its distance from Elkhorn, seemingly unable to concede that

the final round would be won by Virden, around which the ground seemed to be gushing with "black gold". As if to add insult to injury, a new field was discovered in little Kirkella, west of Elkhorn. Although Elkhorn never did enjoy the luxury of oil wells on its townsite, it too was able to benefit from the economic boom associated with the oil strike.

Today Elkhorn remains little changed from its 1907 peak. It still possesses all the required businesses, social services, and population to make it the service centre of a large agricultural district.

3. Hargrave

Located approximately seven miles (11.2 km) northwest of Virden along the mainline of the C.P.R., Hargrave is situated on SW14-10-27. Originally the railway company did not intend to build a station there. The British settlers who had settled in the district in 1881 prior to the construction of the railway, had expected the district to be served by the C.P.R. More settlers followed the railway into the district. In 1890 J.J.Caulfield tore down the Central Hotel in Brandon and used the materials to build a store in Hargrave. Soon after he built a large grain warehouse capable of storing 10,000 bushels (272 tonnes) of grain, and began grain-buying operations in Hargrave. He later replaced the warehouse with a 30,000 bushel (816.3 tonne) elevator.

In 1891 R.J.Hill started a store nearby and applied for the postmastership. Next a blacksmith shop opened. All this activity forced the C.P.R. to survey the townsite in October 1895 and offer lots for sale. E.A.Holmes immediately built a second elevator on the siding. A station building was moved from Elkhorn where a larger structure had been erected.⁴⁷

In 1900 the Hargrave school was moved from its original site one and one-half miles (2.4 km) west of Hargrave to its present site on NW11-11-27, which was closer to the station. An Anglican church was built across the road from it on NE10-11-27 in 1902. A Presbyterian church was erected near the townsite in the early 1900's.

Hargrave station was closed temporarily by the C.P.R. in 1896 and permanently in October 1954. Passengers were still allowed to board the train at Hargrave for a number of years after this. In 1964 the station house was demolished and the section house suffered the same fate in 1968.⁴⁸ Grain shipping continued, through the United Grain Growers and Pool elevators. Hargrave school closed in 1969 and was converted into a community centre.

Today the hamlet consists of two U.G.G. elevators, a store, a United Church, the community centre, and a handful of houses. The post office is no longer located on the townsite.

4. Kirkella

Kirkella is located on SE22-12-29, four miles (6.4 km) from the Saskatchewan boundary, and five miles (8 km) west of Elkhorn, along the C.P.R. mainline. From 1904 until the 1960's the hamlet was also the terminus of the Pheasant Hills Branch of the C.P.R. This branchline ran straight north to McAuley and on to Saskatchewan.

It was construction of this branchline which led to the creation of a townsite by the Kirkella Land and Development Company in June 1905. Seventy-five acres (30.3 ha) were surveyed into townlots, with a park included. Streets were graded and trees were planted.⁴⁷ Obviously the company's expectations for Kirkella were great.

An elevator was built along the railway by the Winnipeg Elevator Company immediately. Joseph Neilly opened a store and post office in 1904, the same year the Kirkella School District was formed.⁵⁰ An Anglican Church opened in 1905, followed by a Presbyterian church around 1908. That was the extent of the hamlet's development.

Today Kirkella still has a large elevator, operated by the Pool Elevator Company, the Anglican Church, used infrequently, and a post office. Clustered around these are about ten houses.

5. Two Creeks

The C.P.R. branchline, built in 1908 through Virden to McAuley and westward, created a siding on NE19-12-26. Here Ross Consolidated School was erected in 1915. An Ogilvie

Elevator was built in the same period. A store-post office existed as well until its destruction by fire in 1956.³⁴ The elevator was dismantled in 1952 and the school closed in 1966. Today the siding contains a curling rink and community club, and the abandoned school.

6. Harmsworth

The C.P.R. branchline from Virden to McAuley also created Harmsworth on NW32-11-26. The hamlet never contained more than a Lake of the Woods Elevator and a store-post office. The latter closed in 1960. The elevator still exists but has been privately owned since 1962.

7. Kola

Until 1956, Kola was no more than a school district in Township 10, Range 29. At that time Mennonite families from Morris, Manitoba began to relocate in the area. When the Kola schoolhouse burnt down in 1957 they replaced it with a new larger one on 22-10-29. Nearby they also built two large churches. The hamlet became the centre of a home construction industry, inaugurated by the Penner Lumber Company in 1959.

Three firms now produce new houses for relocation. Also located in the village is a large feedmill and farm supply centre, a large machine implement dealership, a store and post office. Kola's businesses, located near the Virden-Marvfield road, service a large area in Saskatchewan as well

as southwestern Wallace and northwestern Pipestone municipality.

8. The Rural Municipality of Wallace

The lands in western Manitoba were surveyed under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel James Dennis, the Surveyor General of Dominion Lands for 1871-1878. According to legislation passed by the Manitoba government in 1873, local government boundaries were created in the Virden area in 1882. The County of Dennis, named in honour of Colonel Dennis, was created out of townships 7-12, ranges 23-29 W.P.M. The county was forty-two miles (67.6 km) long and thirty-six miles (57.9 km) wide. It contained 967,680 acres (391,620 ha). Such large areas, with scattered populations, were soon discovered to be difficult to administer, and were divided into smaller units called municipalities. The County of Dennis in 1884 was divided into the rural municipalities of Wallace, Woodworth, Pipestone, and Sifton.

From its earliest beginnings, the municipality of Wallace has maintained a record of progressiveness and stability. This can probably be attributed to the quality of men whom electors were able to choose to control their affairs: men such as Colonel C.E. Ivens who served as reeve from 1908-1943, and H.C. Odell, who served as reeve from 1944-1967.

Faced with a pressing need to provide bridges, roads, and fire protection in its first years of operation, Wallace

Council started with a \$5000 debt. Seven years later, the R.M. was without debt, with \$2000 on hand, and was levying only school taxes.⁵² It faced the difficult problem of collecting taxes from the Canada North West Land Company which controlled about one-third of the land in the townships. The R.M. pressed for payment of back taxes from the company and eventually went to court over the matter, forcing a settlement that saw the lands revert to the control of the C.P.R. land commissioner.

In 1894, 160,000 acres (64752 ha) in the municipality were assessed, with another 110,000 acres (44517 ha) not yet assessed. That year, as in others, according to a provincial government scheme, the municipality distributed \$1500 worth of seed grain to needy farmers. Interestingly, the Council had the foresight to insist that all this seed grain be from Manitoba, in order to avoid introducing new noxious weeds into the municipality.⁵³

The Council in 1896 adopted another provincial government proposal which was to have a real and lasting effect on the municipality. They encouraged farmers to plant trees, and hired a supervisor to set up distribution centres for tree seedlings in Elkhorn and Virden.⁵⁴ This initiated the beginning of a marked change in the landscape of Wallace. From a bleak prairie, devoid of trees, it was transformed into fields dotted with shelter bluffs. The true value of this innovation would be demonstrated during the drought of the 1930's. Soil erosion in Wallace never reached

the proportions suffered by the territory south of Pipestone Creek.

The progressiveness of the R.M. of Wallace was again demonstrated in 1913 when it became the first municipality to take advantage of provincial legislation aimed at establishing better roads in rural Manitoba. The Good Roads Program, as it was instituted in Wallace, gained the municipality the reputation of having the best roads in the province. Wallace Council as early as 1900 had recognized that a decent transportation network could not be maintained by volunteer labour. In that year, therefore, the R.M. abolished the statute labour system which had required every landowner to devote a number of days per year to municipal projects.⁵⁵

The affairs of the R.M. of Wallace have continued to be run in this same spirit of progress. In this way the people of the municipality have always received all possible advantages. Many of these were made possible, of course, by the new wealth and expanding tax base that accompanied the discovery of oil in Virden-Wallace.

F. Economic Development of Virden-Wallace Planning District

1. Fur Trade Era

According to the Hudson's Bay Company charter granted in 1670 by Charles II of England, all trading rights in "all the lands drained by streams which flowed into Hudson's Bay"

were the property of the company. This included the territory of the present planning district. Unfortunately for the company, traders from Montreal and America refused to abide by the English charter. The Hudson's Bay Company soon found itself involved in a fierce rivalry for control of the western fur trade with the North West Company of Montreal. As competition increased, Hudson's Bay Company traders moved into the interior of the continent to establish inland fur posts to match those created by the NorWesters and other traders.

One of the many posts erected during this period of expansion in the late 1790's was Fort Montagne à la Bosse. Located on the Assiniboine River with easy access to the wintering grounds of the buffalo, Fort Montagne à la Bosse constituted an important provision post in the North West Company fur trading system of the late 18th century. It served as one of the chief sources of North West Company pemmican in the Red River area, producing an average of sixty packs of pemmican annually. The fort was

beautifully situated on a very high bank of the Red River [Assiniboine River is meant] and the country all around a level plain....on the opposite side of the river we can fort gate (as I am informed) at almost all seasons of the year see buffalo grazing.²⁴

During the 1950's the local historical society erected a cairn on 17-10-25, just east of Wallace. (and therefore

outside the planning district) to mark the approximate location of the fort.

Despite its relative importance, Fort Montagne à la Bosse does not appear to have been a permanent post. It is likely the fort was abandoned after 1805 since no mention of it can be found after that date. Its short period of operation does not necessarily make it less significant. The NorWesters opened new posts when competition in an area was heavy and closed them when they had the area to themselves. The fort, however, did not do a large trade in furs, returning mostly wolves and buffalo robes.

After amalgamation of the two rival fur companies in 1821, many small temporary posts were abandoned. Thereafter, the furs collected in the Fort Montagne à la Bosse region were transported to Fort Ellice, further north on the Assiniboine. It was not a supply of furs which gave Wallace importance in the furtrade economy: rather, it was the supply of buffalo meat and hides from the open prairie west of the Assiniboine which incorporated the region into the furtrade system. As well, two major cargo routes to Fort Ellice and points west passed through the district.

One route was the south branch of the Fort Ellice or Saskatchewan Trail. The other was the Assiniboine River water route. Along the trail, rows of Red River carts squeaked, carrying supplies to western posts, and returning laden with furs from the northern parkland regions.

Intrinsically interwoven into the supply system were the natives and Métis. Living in the territory just southwest of the Assiniboine River were the Cree; in the territory on the opposite side of the river lived the Ojibway (Saulteaux). North of the Pipestone were some Sioux who had fled from massacre in America.⁵⁷ By the early 1870's the Indians were suffering from the Whiteman's diseases and were near starvation, due to the disappearance of the large buffalo herds from the prairies. They were forced to submit to the Whiteman's treaties which removed them to reservations. This expedience was necessary following the transfer of the West to control by the Canadian government. Plans to settle the plains would be difficult to implement if roving bands of indigenous people were present.

The Sioux were the first to sign a treaty which gave them a reserve, agricultural implements, and seed grain. In 1874 about 700 of the Sioux were moved to an area west of the Assiniboine near Oak River, and also to Birdtail Creek.⁵⁸

Treaties with the Cree and the Saulteaux followed. They were moved to White Bear Reserve near Moose Mountain Park in Saskatchewan. Another small band was placed near Oak Lake, east of Wallace municipality.

The removal of these Indians did not mark their total disappearance from the region they had once roamed freely. They continued to travel the region hunting. They also provided soecial powwows in the district for entertainment.



Indian Family, Virden, 1900.
(Source: P.A.M.)



Settlers leaving Brandon for Virden, 1882.
(Source: P.A.M.)



Indian Pow Wow, Virden, 1886.
(Source: P.A.M.)

Such powwows were held southeast of Virden in October 1886, and in front of Virden post office in July 1887.³⁹ In the latter year the Indians were hired to catch goohers in the western part of the municipality. The rodents were destroying the settlers' crops, prompting the municipality to offer a bounty on them.⁴⁰

A powwow was held in the northeastern part of Elkhorn in May 1892. Misleadingly, spectators were charged a nickel to watch 200 Indians dance. Of these, only a score of Indian dancers appeared at the announced time.⁴¹ On another occasion, when the Governor General of Canada was passing through by rail, Elkhorn citizens arranged a buffalo hunt conducted by Indians for his entertainment. Unfortunately, the hunt and the timing of his fleeting visit could not be coordinated so the elaborate affair did not materialize.

Fort Ellice remained the centre of the provisioning and transportation network of the fur trade into the early 1880's. During this period the brigades travelled the Fort Ellice Trail through Wallace municipality. Likely taking part in this cargo transport system were the Métis living along the Assiniboine River near Oak Lake.⁴² Here they had plenty of wood and water, as well as easy access to Fort Ellice by water or by trail.

In 1879 the first steamboat arrived at Fort Ellice. Steamboats continued to ply the waters of the Assiniboine from Winnipeg to Fort Ellice until 1886. After 1882 when the railway reached Brandon, however, cheaper, faster, and more

reliable transportation was available. The passage of the railway westward, twenty-two miles (35.4 km) south of Fort Ellice, reduced its importance as a transportation centre in an era when the furs in the region were disappearing. The fort was abandoned in 1892.

By this time the region to the south of the fur post was nearly devoid of buffalo and Indians; the prairie had been broken by furrows cut by agriculturalists. The fur trade era, declining since 1870, had reached its formal end in western Manitoba.

2. Early Agricultural Problems

The early settlers on the prairie west of the Assiniboine River faced two problems which were to plague them well into the twentieth century. The first of these was prairie fires, which helped create the second, a shortage of fuel and building materials.

Prairie fires were often blamed on sparks from passing trains. A deputation from Dennis County met with the General Superintendent of the C.P.R. Western Division, W. Whyte in April 1889 in Virden. They were concerned about fires spreading along the tracks from Moosomin to Virden and suggested the company burn "the hundred feet or so on either side of the railway east and west". Whyte pointed out that a newly invented spark arrester would greatly cut down the incidence of fires caused by locomotive cinders. He suggested that farmers plow "a fire break on the west and

north of their half-sections".⁴³ Whyte was trying discreetly to point out that prairie fires had been around for a long time, and were just as often caused by lightning and man's negligence as by a passing train.

Once started, fires freely raged across the prairie, destroying everything in their paths. Settlers' effects and buildings were often saved only by the wanton whims of the wind. One example of this was a September 1886 fire which forced Elkhorn residents to keep vigil for two nights. The fire started near Pipestone and spread northwest to Elkhorn, when, after the railway ties were destroyed, the wind shifted to the southeast, saving Elkhorn but threatening Virden. Here,

the fire came so dangerously near the town on Sunday evening that the citizens turned out en masse and fought the flames inch by inch until they had turned the fiery fiend away.⁴⁴

While the villages had been saved, individual farmers were not so fortunate. Many lost their buildings and stock to the flames. The fires' destruction was so great that year that the federal government paid municipalities for their losses. Wallace received \$200, as did Pipestone municipality. That amount would certainly not have covered the losses suffered by all the farmers in the district.⁴⁵

Hay crops, or worse, harvested stacks of hay, often fell victim to the blazes. In October 1893 prairie fires southwest of Virden destroyed about 1000 tons (907 tonnes)

of hay and a quantity of machinery. The next month an additional 2000 tons (1814.4 tonnes) of hay were destroyed southeast of Virden.⁴⁴ In the fall of 1895 the fires were described as "raging so bad[ly] one can scarcely discern day from night".⁴⁵ As late as 1915 prairie fires were a frequent hazard in the municipality.

This frequent purging of prairie growth left the land barren of all vegetation, leave alone timber. The only supply of that within the boundaries of Wallace was located in the Assiniboine valley far to the northeast. Settlers in the southeast found it easier to follow the old cart trail along Pipestone Creek to Moose Mountain, located at the end of the creek. This wooded area in southern Saskatchewan was near Cannington Manor.

At both locations a settler could buy cordwood for about \$3.00 a cord in 1898, or cut it himself, paying the woodlot owner .75 - \$1.00 per load. The alternative was to purchase coal in Virden for \$4.00 a ton (\$4.40 per tonne).⁴⁶

Unfortunately coal was not always readily available either. There was a real shortage of coal in 1885 and 1887.⁴⁷ In June 1918, the Virden Council had to appoint a fuel controller to supervise the coal situation, and to coordinate the efforts of the municipal council and Virden Board of Trade to acquire "the two carloads of coal per day needed until the end of September to supply Virden's local coal needs for winter".⁴⁸ A similar situation existed in Elkhorn in November 1906 when there was no coal or wood

available in the village, promoting people to burn lumber valued at \$30 per 1000 feet (\$98.42 per 1000 m).⁷¹ Eventually the combined pleading of the village council and the Board of Trade to the provincial government and the C.P.R. resulted in the arrival of one carload of coal.

One settler wrote to the Elkhorn Advocate in November 1894 to complain about the wood shortage. He analyzed it this way.

Settlers were denied quarter sections with wood because the government says it is reserved as wood lot for farmers who have no wood on their homesteads. Then those who do possess wood haul from the woodlot as well and stockpile it on their land to sell at high prices to unfortunate ones possessing no wood....Farmers living south of here ... have to burn buffalo chips or haul the little wood they can get 30-40 miles...One or two farmers living on Township 11 Range 30 have...two or three hundred dollars worth of wood on hand to supply less fortunate brother farmers. On the two farms there is a rough estimate of upwards of 80 acres of good bush.⁷²

Not only was acquiring wood expensive, it was also dangerous. In December 1900 two boys from Elkhorn district lost their way while heading to the Assiniboine River for wood. The horses lost the trail in the dark and wandered aimlessly across the prairie. As a result, one boy died.⁷³

Not all settlers were willing to take this risk, and often fuel was stolen, either from a neighbour's stock or fence, or more often from the hated C.P.R. In May 1896 section men, tired of losing old railway ties to thieves,

warned that, "they had loaded a number with powder. so that the party who takes them will be minus his stove."⁷⁴

An elderly man. in May 1958. sent the C.P.R. six dollars to cover the cost of three bags of coal he had stolen in Elkhorn in 1898. He wrote:

I had good reason for borrowing the coal Temperatures ranged from 35 to 45 degrees below zero most of the time. I was a lad of fourteen living with my eleven year old brother John in a 12x12 foot shanty owned by my elder brother Fred...We were down to our last two sticks of cordwood. Once these were gone we might freeze to death...A carload of coal was expected to come by C.P.R. But the coal had not arrived and word came that the train was stuck in a snowdrift west of Brandon. Then the hotelkeeper told me if I would give a dollar to a chao ... he would show me where I could get coal for nothing...It was an open coal shed of the C.P.R.

We filled three grain sacks we had brought along. It was a heavy task for two cold hungry lads late at night to carry the bags a distance of 500 yards to the sleigh. But it was worth it for in those days people often froze to death for want of fuel. I figure the C.P.R. saved our lives..."⁷⁵

Settlers closer to Pipestone Creek and the Assiniboine River, although they enjoyed the advantage of a nearby wood supply, faced the danger of flood waters and dangerous crossings to reach markets on the other side. Even Gooher Creek could be impassable, as it was in spring 1888.⁷⁶ Frequent spring flooding often washed away the bridges across Pipestone Creek. In 1912 a woman and her two children drowned when they attempted to cross the swollen creek with a horse and buggy.⁷⁷

Although a bridge replaced the ferry across the Assiniboine River in 1892, the road leading down to it was steep and rocky.⁷⁸ The Assiniboine Valley flooded often, but its waters were exceptionally high in 1904, prompting Virden Town Council to have boats ready to convey people across the flooded river flats five miles (8 km) from Virden. One of these boats was swept into the water, drowning two passengers.⁷⁹ Not until 1956 did the municipality make any real progress in combatting the annual overflowing of the Pipestone and the Assiniboine. Besides dyking the Pipestone, a five-mile (8 km) cut-off was constructed to lead the waters directly into Oak Lake, thus preventing flooding of highly productive farm land along the course of the Pipestone.⁸⁰

In spite of these early natural disasters, pioneers in Virden-Wallace were able to raise fairly good crops in all but the southeastern and northeastern areas where the soils were light or stoney. Spared the drudgery of clearing trees, a settler could bring the land under cultivation merely by using the oxen and plough to dig furrows in the prairie sod. One settler claimed his land in spring, ploughed thirty acres (12 ha), and seeded it into oats. As well, during that first year of 1883, he harvested twenty tons (18.14 tonnes) of hay. The next year he was able to harvest 320 bushels (4.64 tonnes) of oats and 475 bushels (12.9 tonnes) of wheat.⁸¹

Colonel C.E.Ivens threshed 538 bushels (14.6 tonnes) of wheat in January 1885. In spite of its frozen condition, he sold it for .55 a bushel (\$37 per tonne) to pay his taxes. In 1895, a yield of 1513 good bushels (41.17 tonnes) only fetched .40 per bushel (\$14.80 per tonne).²²

In 1886 when "the splendid soil from Pipestone Creek took first prize at a New Orleans show" the district experienced one of the driest years in history. While disastrous to the light soils around Virden, on the Pipestone, "some of the best grain in Manitoba has been grown this year".²³

As early as May 1885 Virden had witnessed the shipping of 317 cars of wheat, 7 cars of barley, and 14 cars of oats.²⁴ As more and more land came under cultivation, the amount of grain available for shipping rose. In fall 1895, over 150,000 bushels (4082.4 tonnes) of wheat were shipped from Virden. While yields of cereal grains were often large, ("thirty-five bushels per acre is now so common as scarcely to excite a word of comment"), wheat yields of twenty-five bushels per acre (1.7 tonnes per hectare) were average. Occasionally a farmer, such as James Lamont in Kirkella, made news by raising thirty-two bushel per acre (2.1 tonnes per hectare) wheat.²⁵ For this reason Wallace farmers did not abandon the mixed farming economy most of them practised in their former places of residence. Even the advantage of a good railway transportation network did not induce area



Home of Colonel C.E. Ivens, Reeve of Wallace Municipality, c. 1925
(Source: P.A.M.)



A fieldstone house in Virden district, 1900 similar to that of James Scallion. (Source: P.A.M.)



Harvesting in Virden Area, 1900.
(Source: P.A.M.)

farmers to abandon their livestock for the wheat economy which came to dominate western Canada by 1920.

3. Expansion of Transportation Facilities

The increase in grain production necessitated an improvement in the transportation network of Wallace municipality. Not only did this include the bridging of the major waterways and the numerous creeks, it also included the construction of better market roads to Virden and Elkhorn, from where produce could be loaded on the railways for shipment to far away markets.

Ferries already existed on the Assiniboine River in the neighboring municipalities of Woodworth and Miniota. Wallace Council in 1886 agreed to contribute towards the building of a bridge across the Assiniboine in Woodworth R.M., just east of Virden. In 1890 the council also gave a grant to Woodworth for the building of a road from the Assiniboine to Virden.²⁴

The old cart trails to Fort Ellice and to Cannington Manor were all cut up and fenced by homesteaders by 1912. The municipality had endeavoured to utilize the road allowances established by the survey system to establish a new set of township roads. Often these roads were impassable, due to flooding or poor maintenance.²⁵ In 1913 when the Manitoba government passed the Good Roads legislation, Wallace was quick to take advantage of it. According to the scheme, the municipality undertook to

finance new roads with a debenture debt of \$200,000 for roads and \$40,000 for bridges. This amount was matched by grants from the provincial government. The result was well-built, gravelled highways and graded secondary roads. Besides the route joining Elkhorn, Hargrave, and Virden, which would be replaced by the Trans Canada highway in 1948, a major road traversed the municipality from east to west, called the Maryfield road. Another major artery running south from Elkhorn through the Mossiel district connected with the Maryfield road. A road also ran north from Virden to Harmsworth and Two Creeks.

The building of Hwy. #83 from the American border through Melita to Virden was supported by the Virden Board of Trade in 1926. When it was completed, the highway passed through Wallace from south to north, just west of Virden, greatly improving access to Virden.

The discovery of oil in Wallace resulted in a need to improve many of the secondary roads which were now required to tolerate increased traffic by larger vehicles. In 1952 the oil companies agreed to share, with the provincial and the municipal governments, the cost of improving some of these roads, predominantly in the southwestern part of the municipality.

In the early years of the development of Wallace municipality it was the construction of railway branchlines which was responsible for promoting the growth of Virden and the prosperity of Wallace. The presence of the C.P.R.

mainline was a definite asset to the communities located along its route. Communities to the south and north of it sought linkage to this railway.

The first branchline built by the C.P.R. through Wallace was the Pheasant Hills Branch connecting Kirkella to McAuley and other communities in Saskatchewan. At first Elkhorn had hoped to be the terminus for this branchline. Its coaling docks and water supply made it a natural choice. Instead, the C.P.R. created the new townsite of Kirkella. Constructed in 1904, the line was abandoned in the early 1960's.

The second branchline constructed by the C.P.R. ran from Virden to McAuley and on to the Saskatchewan border. Constructed between 1908-13, this line created a new siding at Harmsworth and another at Two Creeks. Elevators were immediately placed at these new shipping points. Although these small sidings have been unused for decades, the discovery of potash in Saskatchewan saved the line from abandonment.

A C.P.R. Pipestone branchline, built in 1892 from Kemnay to Reston, south of Wallace municipality, created Pipestone, twenty-two miles (35.4 km) south of Virden. This provided an alternative marketplace for farmers in southwestern Wallace. The Canadian Northern Railway constructed a branchline from Hartney to Virden in 1905. This line was abandoned in the 1960's.

From 1884 onward farmers in southwest Manitoba experienced a boon in transportation developments. By the early twentieth century the huge area which had been tributary to Virden found itself with a veritable network of railways. Some of these branchlines were poorly equipped and poorly serviced, but they spared the farmer the long arduous trip by horse and wagon to haul his grain to market in Virden. The fastest service to far away markets, however, remained the C.P.R. mainline.

4. Mixed Farming Economy

"There is no better land to be had anywhere for mixed farming in Manitoba than that to be found in the district tributary to Elkhorn"²², boasted an editorial in the Elkhorn Advocate in 1904. One farmer in the Elkhorn district, after fifteen years in the district, still had over half his land, over 480 acres (192.4 ha), unbroken, in hay and pasture.²³ This is an indication of how dependent the area's farmers were on livestock raising.

Virden area farmers grew more wheat, as was indicated by their interest in the grain growers' movement. By 1897 the wheat shipment figures for Virden were 307,000 bushels (6823.5 tonnes), but shipments of cattle, sheep, and hogs were also significant there. These rose from 65 cars in 1894 to 94 carloads in 1897.²⁴

As early as 1893 the Coombs store in Elkhorn was able to purchase 100,000 fresh eggs and 10,000 pounds (4536 kg)

of butter from local farmers for shipment to the Pacific Ocean steamships in Vancouver. Farmers were able to produce copious amounts of butter and cheese, leading to the early establishment of a cheese factory in Virden and creameries in both Elkhorn and Virden to properly process these dairy products. One farmer reported in 1887 that from nine cows he had sold 1986 pounds (900 kg) of butter and 425 pounds (192.8 kg) of cheese. Production figures such as these enabled the Tapp cheese factory to ship fifty tons (45.35 tonnes) of cheese westward in 1888.⁹¹

While many farmers in the district concentrated on dairy production, men such as the Bajus Brothers of Elkhorn raised purebred cattle. These brothers began breeding polled Hereford cattle in 1889 and built a reputation for having one of the finest herds in Manitoba.

Most cattle raised in the district were beef rather than dairy herds. In early years cattle were sometimes taken to the Lake Dauphin district for wintering because large quantities of hay were available there. Cattle rustling was not uncommon since large herds were often pastured on the open grassy areas near the Assiniboine River.⁹² Shorthorn cattle were the predominant breed well into the 1920's. At the second annual purebred sale held in Virden in 1921, Shorthorns, Aberdeen Angus, and Holstein Friesians were offered for sale. Only one stock breeder brought Herefords to the sale. By 1958 the predominant breeds shown at the



Prize Herefords at Virden Fair 1920
(Source: P.A.M.)



Aberdeen Angus Bulls at Virden Fair, 1900.
(Source: P.A.M.)

Elkhorn Fair were Herefords and Aberdeen Angus, with no Shorthorns in evidence.⁹³

J.S. Simpson, the local stock dealer in Virden in the 1890's, while he often shipped local cattle to Montreal and Britain, also purchased eastern cattle and brought them to the district for fattening during the summer before returning them to the eastern market. In 1896 he imported 500 head of cattle for this purpose.⁹⁴

Elkhorn cattle buyers, T.D.Cavanagh and George Lidster, after 1895 regularly shipped carloads of district cattle westward to ranches in Alberta. Their occupation was usurped by the Elkhorn Cooperative Livestock Association in 1925. In 1948 this association shipped 122 carloads of livestock, including 130 horses, 1955 cattle, 500 sheep, and 2727 hogs. By 1950 Elkhorn could rightfully claim to be "one of the leading livestock marketing centres in the province". In that year the co-op shipped 91 cars of livestock worth \$307,584.55.⁹⁵

Still other farmers in the district concentrated on raising sheep. English and Scottish immigrants were familiar with breeding these animals and found the conditions in southwest Wallace ideal. H.Crisp of Kola, on 9-10-29, had 300 acres (121 ha) under cultivation in 1889, much of it in wheat. At the same time he pastured 500 sheep. Sir James Aikin, when he bought his farm near the Saskatchewan boundary, also concentrated on raising sheep. George Allison

of Burnbank district always kept a large flock of sheep, as well as a prize herd of Shorthorn cattle.⁹⁴

By 1917 there were enough sheepbreeders in the district to form the Elkhorn Wool Growers Association, which shipped wool to the Department of Agriculture under a Cooperative Wool Marketing scheme. Interest in sheep continued into the 1950's. For example, after the 1947 annual Elkhorn Agricultural Society Fair, over ten tons (9 tonnes) of lambs were shipped by twelve farmers.⁹⁷

Another occupation for early affluent farmers was the breeding of fine horses. Among these men were Bouverie and Routledge of Bosshill Farm near Virden, and William Laggan of Laggan Farm six miles (9.6 km) southwest of Virden. Rosebank Farm near Elkhorn, imported "a Clydesdale stallion and four Clydesdale mares, all pure bred, pedigreed animals" from Scotland in 1889.⁹⁸ Owners of this same farm, Messrs. McLeod and Paterson, also purchased pedigreed Shorthorns from Binscarth Farm.

The Simpson Brothers of Virden were one of the largest horse-dealing firms in the province in 1902. They purchased horses from all over the district, as well as importing them from Montana, to fill contracts such as one to supply mounts for the British Army in South Africa during the Boer War.

Horse breeding on a commercial scale was severely handicapped by the advent of the tractor and automobile. Most of the horsebreeders in the district, fortunately, had also engaged in cattle raising.

Poultry breeding too was a part of the mixed farming economy in Wallace. Two early prize poultry breeders were not farmers, however, but prominent Virden citizens. In 1897 J.W.Higgenbotham, the local druggist, and W.F.Scarth, the postmaster, won local and provincial honours for their poultry. This encouraged other breeders to improve their flocks. In 1925 Virden producers shipped 44,600 pounds (20,230 kg) of dressed poultry, worth \$40,000, through the Manitoba Cooperative Poultry Marketing Association. **

Today, although wheat production in Wallace is still high, farmers continue to raise cereal crops and cattle, especially in the north where good grazing land is available in the community pastures.

5. The Farm Protest Movement

Early settlers in Virden-Wallace had chosen their land with the primary purpose of establishing a mixed-farming economy familiar to them from their previous experiences. Before long, however, their proximity to the mainline C.P.R., and the productivity of their soil drew them into the wheat economy which would dominate the prairies from 1890 until 1930. At that time the world depression caused the failure of the wheat pools. This, added to the drought conditions on the prairies, caused western farmers to change their focus and diversify their agricultural endeavours.

During the period 1890-1930, western economic development revolved around a struggle against eastern

domination and control of the wheat economy. In retrospect the history of Wallace reflects this struggle. This is evident in spite of the fact that farmers in the district never gave over their land to total wheat production, continuing, to their advantage in later years, to maintain a mixed-farming economy.

Technological advances, the creation of new strains of wheat, and the construction of an east-west transportation network, all changed the face of western agriculture by the end of the nineteenth century. The pioneer phase of subsistence farming ended. The full scale production of wheat for world markets began.

The passage of the C.P.R. directly through Wallace meant that from its earliest years of settlement the district could send its produce to market. At first Virden and Elkhorn were the main shipping points for a vast western district extending from Souris to Birtle, and from Moosomin to Brandon. Gradually the building of branchlines created a network of railways with various shipping points throughout this region, decreasing the importance of Virden and Elkhorn after 1908.

Increased grain production created a need for grain storage facilities in Wallace and throughout the West. Originally, loading platforms were provided at every country station. Next the C.P.R. solicited private elevator companies to build 25,000 bushel (680 tonne) capacity elevators which were emptied two or three times a year.

Then, by refusing to accept grain at any other point, the railway entered into a combine with the elevator companies and effectively monopolized the merchandising of local produce. The need to break this monopoly was felt as early as 1885 in Wallace. In October of that year, the Dennis County Agricultural Society condemned the "injustice being done to farmers of Manitoba by the present grainbuyers' monopoly".¹⁰⁰

All western farmers faced the reality that their prosperity depended as much upon eastern businessmen as it did upon the weather. These men, farmers believed, controlled government policies and intended to exploit the West for eastern advantage. The C.P.R.'s monopoly allowed them to maintain high freight rates. The high tariff that protected eastern-based industries simultaneously required western farmers to buy American-produced farm supplies at artificially high prices. Consequently, farmers sold their produce on a buyer's market and purchased their supplies on a seller's market. In an effort to loosen this stranglehold on their livelihood, western farmers sought to form organizations that could unite farmers in their common fight.

a. Farmers' Institute

The need for an organization to support farmers and offer them advice on how to become more efficient led to the foundation in 1890 of the Farmers' Institute. Local

organizations were encouraged and supported by the provincial government. Their aim was to bring agricultural technology directly to the individual farmer so he could apply it to his individual needs.

In this work the institutes were similar to the agricultural societies which sponsored fairs and competitive displays of livestock and farm produce. In Dennis County, two agricultural societies existed. The first was the Dennis County Agricultural Society, formed in Virden in 1884. Its name was later changed to the Virden Agricultural Society. As such it continues to hold annual agricultural fairs.

The Elkhorn Agricultural Society was formed in February 1895. According to the Elkhorn Advocate, the first annual Elkhorn Agricultural Society Exhibition was held 2 October 1895 with 700 entries. Originally held west of the present Elkhorn museum, near Burns Slough, the Society established a new fairground in 1908 on the north side of town on high dry land. Here it originally purchased forty acres (16.2 ha) at \$1.00 per acre (\$2.50 per ha) with government assistance to build new buildings. Fairs have continuously been held at this location since 1909.¹⁰¹

A Farmers' Institute was formed in Virden on 18 June 1891, and in Elkhorn on 20 June 1891.¹⁰² The original fifty-four members of Dennis County Institute No. 1 (Virden) chose as their president James Elder, who eleven years earlier had been elected as the first president of Dennis County Agricultural Society. Elder went on to become a driving

force behind the Farmers' Institute movement in Manitoba. Elder was elected president of the Central Farmers' Institute at Brandon in 1891, a position he held for many years. He travelled across Manitoba lecturing farmers about their slipshod farming methods, pointing out the need to use summer fallow, to employ better weed extermination methods, and to test for tuberculosis in their cattle. In 1896 he wrote an article concerning the \$1,400,000 crop lost to smut in 1895, recommending that farmers give their barley and oats seed grain a bluestone treatment.¹⁰³ Although Elder also attacked the political problems faced by farmers: the heavy debt load, high taxes, and elevator monopoly, he never joined the more political Patrons of Industry organization because he found it "hostile and antagonistic to mercantile society".¹⁰⁴

The work of the institutes in educating the farmer in the latest techniques was closely related to the establishment of an agricultural college in Manitoba. Addresses were often given to local groups by representatives from agricultural colleges and from the Brandon Experimental Farm.

The monopolies facing farmers forced the Institute to play a more aggressive role than intended. In September 1893 the farmers attending an Institute meeting in Virden agreed to petition the federal government to remove the duties on binder twine, coal oil, barbed wire, and implements. They also petitioned the C.P.R. to reduce freight rates on these

commodities, and the provincial government to appoint more farmers to the Grain Standards Board, while instituting a different system of collecting samples and fixing the grades.¹⁰⁵

The maltreatment farmers experienced at the hands of elevator companies led the institutes to support the establishment of farmer-owned and operated elevators. Only if a farmer produced enough grain to fill a carload (1000 bushels or 27.2 tonnes) could he by-pass the local grain buyer and ship directly to the marketplace. The railway company, however, preferred to allot cars to elevator companies who could load them more quickly than could a farmer with a wagon and shovel. Yet, when a farmer sold his produce through the local elevator, he faced excessive dockage and irregular grading methods, lowering his profits considerably. Farmer-owned elevators were viewed as a method of avoiding this experience.

A Farmers' Elevator Company was formed in Virden in 1895. It was operating an elevator by 1897. This elevator, like many other Farmers' elevators in Manitoba, did not fare well. The other elevator companies met their challenge by reducing their rates, thus undermining farmers' support for the venture. The Farmers' Elevator Company in Virden was glad to sell its nearly bankrupt enterprise to the provincial government in 1910.

b. Patrons of Industry

Although the Farmers Institute continued its role as an educational body, agriculturalists sought a stronger voice to act as a pressure group. Such an organization was the Patrons of Industry, a fraternal lodge modelled on an American concept. The first Manitoba lodge was established in the Portage la Prairie area in 1891. The Patrons adopted a platform which differed little from that of the later United Farmers of Manitoba organization. They believed that agriculture, as Canada's base industry, deserved special consideration. This entailed the abolition of the tariff and government regulation of the transportation industry.

The first lodge to open in Wallace was in the Hargrave district where seven members attended an organizational meeting in January 1892. Ross district followed with a twenty-one member lodge. Montgomery district established a Patrons' lodge in February 1892.¹⁰⁶ The first meeting of Dennis County Lodge was held 16 February 1892. Thirty-eight delegates from the surrounding lodges of Kirkella, Hargrave, Kola, Ross, and Montgomery were in attendance. A lodge was not formed in Virden itself. It seems likely that Elkhorn did have its own lodge because in 1892 members of the Patrons of Industry reportedly visited "Elkhorn storeowners to obtain an agreement with them to supply their society with goods 12 1/2% above cost".¹⁰⁷ The local merchants refused, causing the Patrons to make plans to establish their own store in Elkhorn to supply members with cheaper goods.¹⁰⁸

Although at first reluctant to engage in politics, by 1894 the Patrons were preparing to field candidates for the next provincial election. Before the election took place, however, the movement was split wide open by the internal problems within their purchasing organization, and by the external forces aroused by the Manitoba Schools' Question. Consequently, of the seven Patrons' candidates who eventually ran in the 1896 provincial election, only two were elected.

One of these was Watson Crosby who was the Patrons' candidate for Dennis County. Born in Prince Edward Island in 1857, the grandson of a senator, Watson Crosby relocated in Wallace municipality after coming to Manitoba in 1879. He served as Councillor and Reeve of Wallace R.M. for eleven years. Until 1895 he was

an ardent liberal and free trader in politics, but his independent spirit revolted at the idea of men springing into line at the crack of the party whip and he threw his influence and lot in with the growing Patrons movement; and when the provincial elections came on he was unanimously chosen as their standard bearer in Dennis.¹⁰⁹

The fact that Crosby was elected to the legislature had more to do with his personal popularity than with his political affiliation. Both James Elder and James Scallion, active in the Farmers' Institute but not enamoured with the Patrons' mercantile policies, urged Conservatives in the district to support Crosby.¹¹⁰ Crosby, once he was elected,

chose to support the "system of national schools" which was the Liberal position during the Manitoba Schools' Question. Crosby's untimely death on 19 March 1897 of typhoid and pneumonia ended the ties between Dennis County and the Patrons of Industry. The popularity of the movement was already in decline throughout the province. A Liberal was elected to fill the seat left vacant by Crosby's demise. An attempt by James Elder to win the seat as an independent Liberal representing farmers was unsuccessful.¹¹¹

c. The Grain Growers' Movement

The ideals of the Patrons of Industry were reborn in 1903 in the grain growers' movement. In the meantime the Conservative government of Manitoba had made efforts to identify itself with the urgent needs of Manitoba's agrarian society. In spite of this, the elevator companies still had a virtual monopoly on the local markets and thus controlled local grain prices. If farmers could withhold their grain from the local market in the fall, or if they could ship it directly to the marketplace, they could improve the prices they received for their produce. A step towards achieving this was made by the formation of grain growers' associations, modelled after one formed in 1902 in Sintaluta, Assiniboia (Saskatchewan).

The local agricultural society in Virden, led by James Scallion, who had been following the situation in Assiniboia, arranged a special meeting in January 1903 with

the intention of establishing a grain growers' association in Manitoba. W.R.Motherwell, one of the leaders of the North West Grain Growers' Association, was invited to speak to the interested agriculturalists. The result was the formation of the first grain growers' association in Manitoba. It was headed by President James Scallion. The executive consisted of other prominent Wallace farmers: George Carefoot, J.A.Blakeman, Peter McDonald, Col. C.E.Ivens, and Issac Bennett.

Virden's example was followed by other groups in Manitoba, culminating in the formation of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association in March 1903. James Scallion was elected president of the provincial organization, a position he would hold until becoming president of the later, more political, United Farmers of Manitoba.

A grain growers' local association was in existence in Elkhorn by 1904. Its membership increased to 106 by 1906.¹¹²

The Sintaluta group sent E.A. Partridge to investigate the possibility of obtaining a seat for farmers on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange in 1904. Partridge recommended the formation of a farmers' grain handling company. This idea was discussed in 1905 at a Brandon meeting to which Virden sent the largest delegation. Most of the farmers who attended the meeting travelled many miles at their own expense to attend. At the meeting it was resolved that a farmer-owned grain company would be established, completely

separate from the Grain Growers' Association, which would remain the political arm of the movement.

The resolution was accepted in 1906 by the Manitoba and the Territorial associations. Organizers were sent out to sell \$25 company shares to western farmers. At a meeting in Elkhorn, addressed by E.A. Partridge of Sintaluta, ten local farmers purchased shares in the Grain Growers' Grain Company.¹¹³ To market the crops of its members the company required a seat on the Grain Exchange. Such a seat was denied them by Exchange members until the Roblin government of Manitoba passed legislation which forced the Exchange to accept the new company as a member.

The fledgling company did not own elevators, nor did it have the capital to create them. Convinced that monopoly elements still controlled the local grain trade, the Grain Growers' Association pressured the Roblin government to establish a government-owned system of elevators for grain storage. The Manitoba Elevator Commission was created in 1910 in answer to this pressure.

The state-owned elevator venture was disastrous. Elevator companies used the opportunity to dispose of outdated facilities at inflated prices. In Virden three of the five existing elevators were purchased by the government. It soon became obvious that, while farmers desired the state elevators to check the power of the private grain buyers, they were not prepared to patronize them exclusively. Mounting deficits forced the government to abandon the

scheme. It leased 135 of its elevators to the Grain Growers' Grain Company in 1912. Most of these were purchased by the company between 1916 and 1927.

In 1917 the Grain Growers Grain Company and the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company amalgamated to form the United Grain Growers Company. In Virden the company operated two elevators on the C.P.R. until 1917 when it built a new elevator along the C.N.R. tracks. When abandonment of the C.N.R. branchline became imminent the U.G.G. company moved their elevator to the C.P.R. trackage where it is still in operation.

Manitoba government elevators in Elkhorn and Hargrave were also purchased by the company. The U.G.G. elevator in Elkhorn was sold to the Pool elevator system in 1928. The U.G.G. still operates its elevator in Hargrave.

d. The United Farmers of Manitoba

The grain growers' associations were tremendously successful as a farm-lobby group. For example, they had been instrumental in the formation of the Federal Board of Grain Commissioners in 1908. As early as 1910 the various provincial grain growers' associations had consolidated to form the Canada Council on Agriculture. Responding to the political upheaval in the West resulting from the political situation during World War I, this council provided a platform, called the New National Policy, for grain growers'

locals, but left the fielding of political candidates entirely to the local associations.

It was understood that all political candidates would be directly responsible to their local constituents, and not to any national party organization. Financial responsibility for electing candidates would rest with the local grain growers' group who nominated the candidate. The locals united to form a provincial organization called the United Farmers of Manitoba to elect members to the House of Commons and the provincial legislature. An outgrowth of the old Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, the U.F.M. was predominantly an educational and economic group, with most of its strength in Southwestern Manitoba where 60% of Manitoba's wheat crop was produced.

A meeting was held in Virden in August 1921 to organize the farmers and townspeople into a United Farmers of Manitoba local. The meeting was addressed by Robert Forke who was chosen as the U.F.M. candidate for Brandon constituency in the 1921 federal election.¹¹⁴ Forke was elected, along with eleven other U.F.M. or Progressive candidates from Manitoba.

Although the Progressives held thirty-nine of the forty-three Western seats in the House of Commons, and could have held the balance of power there, ideological splits in their ranks, and the lack of a national party organization lost farmers the only political opportunity they ever possessed to redress the problems facing western

agriculturalists. Forke was reelected in 1926, but most other Progressives were not, having drifted back into the ranks of the Liberal Party from whence they sorang.

The U.F.M. locals had delayed entering provincial politics until the crucial 1921 federal election was behind them. In the 1922 Manitoba election the U.F.M. elected twenty-eight rural members along with one city Progressive, enough to give them control of the legislature. One of these men was Robert H. Mooney, who defeated the Liberal member for Virden constituency.

The U.F.M. under John Bracken formed the first farmers' government of Manitoba. It seemed as if the farmers' dream had come true at last. Surely a government consisting of their own kind would direct itself to marketing their grain. The method most farmers favoured for accomplishing this was the re-creation of the Wheat Board. This device had been used successfully by the Canadian government during the crucial years of World War I to regulate the marketing of the Canadian wheat crop.

The federal government had agreed to re-establish a wheat board only if the three provincial governments passed concurrent legislation. Saskatchewan and Alberta did so. In Manitoba, Premier Bracken called for an open vote on the wheat board legislation in 1923. R.L. Mooney, representing Virden, voted for the wheat board, but the legislation was defeated by a vote of 24-21.¹¹⁵ Feeling betrayed by their own political creation, most Manitoba farmers turned their

attention to another proposed method of grain marketing. Local U.F.M. associations began to support the wheat pool movement.

Since U.F.M. locals had formerly been grain growers' associations, which had created the United Grain Growers Company, their loyalties were now torn between this company, their political representatives, and the new wheat pools. Most chose to support the pools.

Although R.H. Mooney remained the M.L.A. for Virden constituency until 1953, by 1936 he had ceased to describe himself as a Progressive (U.F.M.). He became a Liberal Progressive, following the reunion of the Progressive and Liberal parties in Manitoba.

e. The Wheat Pools

The pools represented a producer-owned and producer-controlled alternative for the disposal of the wheat crop. The open market continued to exist.

The three prairie pools collected the grain from their farmer members on a contract basis and sold it through the Central Selling Agency on the international market. Each farmer received an initial payment dependent on the estimated price the entire crop would bring from its sales during the year. At the end of the year, this initial payment was deducted from the total price the pool had realized for that crop. Proportional payments were sent to farmers for their share of the produce. The Central Selling

Agency continued to sell the western crop after the pools' bankruptcy in 1932, until the establishment of the Canadian Wheat Board in 1935. After 1932 the pools ceased to sell farmers' crops but continued to purchase them as a cooperative elevator company.

In Wallace the people who had been prominent in the establishment of the Grain Growers' Grain Company were now instrumental in the formation of local pool associations. The Harmsworth Pool Association was headed by Stuart Gellie, who also served on the provincial executive. The president of the Wallace Local Wheat Pool Association was Amos Odell. The executive consisted of farmers from Elkhorn, Kirkella, Virden, and Harmsworth.¹¹⁴

Today the Pool Elevator Association is the largest grain buyer in the district. Large pool elevators exist in Kirkella, Hargrave, Elkhorn, and Virden. Only the U.G.G. continues to offer them competition.

6. The Oil Industry

The discovery of oil in Southwestern Manitoba was a tremendous stimulus to the economy of the region and province. Prior to 1951 there had been no important quantities of gas or oil found in Manitoba. In that year California Standard Oil made an important discovery of thirty-five degree gravity oil at Virden, from what geologists call the Mississippian formation.

The south west part of Manitoba in question, where development is so active, is part of the Williston Basin which covers 100,000 square miles in this part of Manitoba, South east Saskatchewan and a strip of Northern Dakota. ...The basin rises in its trend to the north east indicating possible oil production at much shallower depths as it reaches south west Manitoba.¹¹⁷

The new Virden field had three important advantages: it was an area of shallow drilling; it was accessible to markets; and it was near the inter-provincial pipeline.

The initial search began in May 1948 when a crew of United Geophysical Co. from Pasadena, California spent two months with two drill rigs engaged in the quest.¹¹⁸ By the time the crew left for Alberta in November 1948, feelings were optimistic. The Virden Empire-Advance reported:

Options have been taken up extensively on land in the district and while there are numerous rumours regarding oil here, no definite information is available ... It is expected that further work may be done in the district.¹¹⁹

Indeed there was further exploration: in 1949, 1950, and 1951, culminating in the first success on the farm of W.J.Gardiner, eight miles (12.8 km) west of Virden on NE18-10-27, in January 1951.

The company most responsible for the discovery was California Standard. In 1950 the Federal Department of Resources and Development had accepted the tenders and bonus bids of this company on Soldier Settlement lands to which the Crown had retained the mineral rights.¹²⁰ These included

the Gardiner land on which oil was first found. When California Standard struck oil a scramble for other oil rights in the district ensued.

About thirty percent of the oil rights in the district were owned by the Crown. Many private individuals had leased their rights before the discovery of oil. During the winter of 1951 oil company representatives covered the area between Virden, Elkhorn, and Reston on bombardiers, trying to secure leases for their companies.¹²¹ Leases were generally for ten years with annual payments renewable in advance, but with arrangements allowing the company to withdraw after one year. Oil leases might be as high as \$2000 for one year on a section of land. Wallace R.M. leased 8000 of its acres (3237.6 ha) to California Standard for \$1.00 per acre (\$2.50 per hectare). The company was able to lease an additional 268,000 acres (108,460 ha) from farmers at anywhere from ten cents to \$1.00 an acre (.25-\$2.50 per hectare).¹²² Individual farmers tried to strike a hard bargain with the oil companies. One Elkhorn farmer asked for \$10.00 an acre (\$25 per hectare) for his oil rights. Another tried to sell his quarter section for \$50,000.¹²³ "It [was] rumoured that the total yearly price which will be collected by landowners in the district amounts to \$1,000,000."¹²⁴

The discovery of oil on Gardiner's farm did not involve a gusher. Oilmen had learned that to allow an oil well to gush without restraint, instead of allowing the oil to recede gradually from all parts of the reservoir, resulted



Oil Derrick, Virden district, 1956. (Source: P.A.M.)



Drilling for oil, Virden district, 1956. (Source: P.A.M.)



Oil well, Virden district, 1956. (Source: P.A.M.)

in water surging up to take the place of natural gas surging upward. Soon the two met around the pipe, leaving oil unrecovered in a "dead well". The oil production in these new wells in southwestern Manitoba was therefore controlled by provincial Petroleum and Natural Gas Conservation boards which set production quotas.¹²⁵ An acidization process was used to ensure an even flow and to flush the oil out. For example, at a well on 21-11-27, 9000 gallons (34069 litres) of acid were poured down the oil well and then swabbed out.¹²⁶ With the acidization process an oil flow of over three barrels per hour was obtained on the first oil well. Here the acid was introduced to the interval between 2000 and 2340 feet (609-713 m) where the oil was first detected.¹²⁷

The first well was capped and pumping and storage equipment was installed. Thereafter the well produced fifteen barrels per day, with 12 1/2% of the royalties going to the provincial government. All oil exploration, however had been financed by private companies. The cost of drilling a well was approximately \$25,000. In 1951 oil was selling for \$3.00 per barrel, thus requiring 8000 barrels to be pumped before drilling costs had been recouped.¹²⁸

The second well drilled was adjacent to the first. Government regulations set the size of an oil field at forty acres (16 ha). Each section was divided into legal subdivisions of this size. One well could be drilled on each. The discovery of oil in the second drilling site on 23

February 1951 made the oil discovery legitimate. The first well on the banks of Gopher Creek had been no accident. Thereafter intensive drilling of new wells began in what was to become known as the Daly field.

At first the oil was trucked from the storage tanks to the Anglo Canadian Oil Refinery in Brandon. Later it travelled via rail to the Imperial Oil and North Star Oil refineries in Winnipeg. Finally the crude oil was piped into the Interprovincial Pipeline at Cromer, southwest of Virden.¹²⁹

Oil exploration in Daly field seemed to be controlled by California Standard. By August 1952 seven wells here were producing 750 barrels per day of light oil of 32 gravity. In the first six months of 1952, the total oil production in Manitoba was 25,087 barrels.¹³⁰ New companies, led by Canadian Superior Co. of California, and Souris Valley Oil Co., began to enter the exploration field. An oil strike thirty miles (48 km) southwest of Virden near the Saskatchewan border indicated the existence of a new field, named Tilson. This well produced seven barrels a day, indicating the field had a high potential.¹³¹

Drilling west of Elkhorn resulted in the Turbak wild cat well in September 1957. Although this Kirkella field produced a heavier crude, by 1958 it was considered eighth of thirteen Manitoba fields, ranking behind Maples, Tilson, Ebor, Whitewater, Pierson, and West Butler, all fields

southwest of the original Daly field and outside the planning district.¹³²

By 1958 there were 856 producing wells in Manitoba and production was over one-half million barrels monthly. This increase in the number of producing wells brought a corresponding decrease in their productivity. The daily production of 16,000 barrels a day in 1952 dropped to 10,300 barrels per day in 1963.¹³³ In order to sustain production and improve the recovery of oil reserves, the many companies involved agreed to unite their interests for assisted recovery operations.

Drying oil wells could be given a secondary recovery treatment.

This means if the wells gas or water pressure dies, leaving oil in the ground, the well owners may revive the pressure using either water or some of that dry residue gas recovered at the well head... Once oilmen recovered as little as 10% of a field's oil. Today sometimes they recover up to eighty per cent."¹³⁴

A waterflooding process, by which water was forced into the rock containing oil in order to flush oil into the well bore, began to be implemented in the oil fields around Virden. By 1967 most of the major fields were producing under unitized waterflood agreements. This increased production to 17,000 barrels per day. At that time there were 900 oil wells in production around Virden. The major fields included North Virden Scallion in Township 11, Range 26 with over 220 wells, Virden Roslea which was partially located on Virden townsite, and Daly in Township 10, ranges 27,28.¹³⁵

In recent years more wells have been drilled in the Kirkella field in Township 12, Range 29 near the

Saskatchewan border. Many new wells have been drilled in the Pipestone Valley in townships 9, 10, Range 29.

What was the impact of the new industry on the lives of the citizens of Virden-Wallace? At first they found themselves caught up in the rush by the oil companies to acquire oil leases. Some farmers found to their lasting chagrin that they did not possess the mineral rights to their land. In 1955 a test case concerning the purchases of land under the Manitoba Farm Loans Board reached the Supreme Court. It awarded the mineral rights to the farmer, Edward Wardle.¹³⁴ But even possession of mineral rights did not always guarantee the farmer protection. In 1958 the M.L.A. for Virden, John Thompson, attacked the provincial government for not protecting farmers from fraud over mineral rights. Oil companies tended to cancel their oil leases on one legal subdivision adjacent to an oil producing territory. By doing this they could avoid regulations requiring them to drill on offset leases adjoining their producing field within a certain time period. There were seventeen cases of such misrepresentation before the Brandon courts in February 1958.¹³⁷

Farmers signed less lucrative contracts in the early years of oil exploration. These were negotiated in 1952 when royalty hunters were literally chasing farmers, offering to purchase royalty shares for as high as \$160 for a half share of a quarter section. These men represented new American

firms anxious to cash in on the oil boom.¹³² Many of these leases were never developed, so remained useless.

Most district farmers tried to be objective about the oil strike. They considered it to be no more than an unexpected bonus to add to their agricultural earnings. Such a boom would probably not last long. Therefore, the money gleaned in this brief period should be set aside for the future.

But the increased traffic in the district caused by the oil trucks and drillers created a problem. First of all, farmers, even if they didn't own mineral rights, still had to allow oilmen access to their land. For this they were given a small sum as compensation. Secondly, the country roads were not built to withstand the increased usage. This problem was settled by an agreement between the oil companies, the municipality, and the provincial government in September 1952. The three parties agreed to share the improvement costs of major access roads in the district. In this way all farmers reaped direct benefits from the oil strike.

The increase in population caused by the boom fell mostly on Virden, where demands for the expansion of housing, schools, and medical facilities were handled deftly by the town council.

What the oil discovery brought to the region was a new primary industry. No longer was the area's prosperity totally dependent upon agriculture. Farmers, even those who

grew rich on oil royalties, continued to view farming as their major occupation, however. But the young men of the district could now seek employment in the oil business and the many spin-off secondary industries it spawned. Virden, always a market town, now became the oil centre for southwestern Manitoba as well.

The oil strike in Virden district warranted national attention in 1951. Major newspapers and journals hastened to send their reporters to produce written impressions of the effect of the boom on the "sleepy" little prairie town. Not all these reports were complimentary. Many of Virden's citizens were determined that never again would the media have the opportunity to write unflattering commentaries about their town. The national recognition garnered by Virden through the oil strike not only "put it on the map", so to speak, but it also intensified the pride Virdenites felt in their town. Consequently they have worked hard to keep Virden neat and pretty in spite of the urban sprawl entailed in the growth of its second primary industry.

III. Identification of Sites within Virden-Wallace Planning District

A. Elevators

Because the building of the C.P.R. mainline through Wallace municipality preceded the settlement of the district, the area always possessed a reliable transportation system. This was a necessity if an agricultural region wished to market its produce. Another necessity was the creation of grain storage facilities along the railway.

The first elevator in Virden was built in 1884 by the A.W.Ogilvie Milling Company. The second elevator was erected by a smaller firm, McBean Brothers. Both these facilities were inadequate to serve the needs of the expanding district. By the end of 1885 Wallace Council was being urged by the ratepayers to borrow \$12,000 to erect an elevator in Virden and another in Elkhorn. A bylaw to create a company to build a 30,000 bushel (816 tonne) capacity elevator in Elkhorn, another in Virden, and a flat warehouse in Hargrave, with money borrowed for a 36 year period, was rejected by voters in September 1886.¹ Thereafter the building of elevators was left to grain-marketing companies, who by 1887 had erected six elevators in Virden. The building of branchline railways across the municipality meant that grain-buying facilities no longer needed to be



Virden Elevators in 1900 during the Virden Fair.
(Source: P.A.M.)

concentrated in Virden, however, and numerous elevators were created elsewhere in the municipality.

1. A.W. Ogilvie Grain Company Elevator, Virden

This elevator was in existence by 1884. It was located on the C.P.R. mainline, near its intersection with Nelson Street. It had a 28,000 bushel (762 tonne) capacity. In the early years Ogilvies' was often literally bulging with grain, so great was the pressure of the huge amounts of grain it held. This was due to a chronic shortage of grain cars at all railway stations.²

Ogilvies' received little competition until a Lake of the Woods' elevator was erected in 1890. Shortly before, two nephews of A.W.Ogilvie had left their uncle's employ to form this new rival company.

Ogilvies' elevator functioned in Virden until 1950. In 1952 the building was demolished and salvaged materials were used to build an elevator in Broadview, Saskatchewan.

2. McBean Brothers' Elevator, Virden

McBean Brothers were grain buyers from Winnipeg. Originally their grain storage facilities in Virden may have consisted of a flat warehouse, or a small elevator, along the C.P.R. tracks. In November 1885 the company decided to erect "a new 20,000 bushel elevator adjoining their old elevator".³ During that month 70,000 bushels (1905 tonnes) of grain were shipped through Virden, indicating that

expansion of grain storage facilities there would prove very lucrative. The new elevator was probably located just north of the Ogilvie elevator, where Raglan Street intersected the tracks.

The grain buyer for McBeans' was the very popular S.S.Coulter. When R.P.Roblin, the future premier of Manitoba, leased the elevator in 1895, Coulter was retained as the grain buyer. Coulter, in 1897, made plans to erect his own elevator.⁴

McBean Brothers Elevator was leased to the Farmers' Elevator Company. This was probably in 1897, since a Farmers' Elevator Company was known to be operating then.⁵

3. Farmers' Elevator Company, Virden

Farmers' elevator companies were established in Manitoba in the 1890's at the encouragement of the Farmers' Institute.

It is not known which local farmers were instrumental in establishing a Farmers' Elevator Company, but certainly there had always been a great deal of local pressure to destroy the monopoly of private grain buyers. Although a bylaw to borrow money to erect two elevators in Wallace was defeated by a large majority in 1886, another effort was made in 1895 by local farmers to establish their own elevator. That year, the manager of the Virden Commercial Bank commenced building an elevator at a cost of \$11,000. "on the understanding that farmers in the district would

take the property and run it." When an sufficient number of farmers failed to subscribe to the scheme, the courts gave the bank permission to sell the half-erected structure.⁴

It is possible that a Farmers' Elevator Company did buy or lease the McBean Elevator in 1897. The Farmers' Elevator Company erected a new elevator in 1903. Since this new structure was located on the site of the former McBean elevator, at the junction of the tracks with Raglan Street, it seems likely that the older elevator was dismantled to make room for the new facility.

The new elevator, covered in red-painted tin, had a capacity of 40,000 bushels (1088 tonnes). It contained sixteen storage bins and two shipping bins, but no cleaning bins. It possessed two loading platforms.⁵

Farmers' elevator companies faced unfair competition from private companies who lowered their shipping prices wherever their monopoly was threatened by a Farmers' elevator. Consequently, most Farmers' elevators experienced financial difficulties and were sold to the Manitoba government when it established a government-operated elevator system in 1910.

The Virden Farmers' Elevator was first leased to a private grain buyer in 1910. In July of that year seventy-two grain growers from the Virden district petitioned the Manitoba Elevator Commission to purchase the elevator. The sale of the structure to the Manitoba government was announced in September 1910.⁶

Poor management, including the purchasing of too many outdated or unfeasible elevator operations, forced the Manitoba government to abandon its scheme in 1912. Its elevators were leased to the Grain Growers' Grain Company. Although three government elevators existed in Virden, the new company decided to operate only one of the facilities. Since the Farmers' elevator was the newest of the three structures, it was renovated by the Grain Growers' Company, using materials salvaged from the dismantling of the former Northern Elevator.

In 1924 the government arranged the sale of its elevators. Most were purchased by the United Grain Growers' Grain Company which was already operating them. This company purchased the Farmers' elevator. It had been using the structure on a part-time basis since 1916 when it had erected a new U.G.G. elevator along the C.N.R. tracks in Virden. The old Farmers' Elevator was subsequently torn down and the materials used to construct new plants at Solsgirth and Dauphin.♥

4. Lake of the Woods Elevator. Virden

The Lake of the Woods Milling Company began construction of an elevator in Virden in August 1890. It was completed by 11 September 1890, making it the "quickest-built elevator in Manitoba" at that time.¹⁰ The elevator had a 35,000 bushel (952.5 tonne) capacity. It was located west of the McBean Elevator, 850 feet (259 m) east of King

Street, on the north side of the C.P.R. tracks. The elevator was dismantled around 1935.¹¹

5. Northern Elevator, Virden

The Northern Elevator Company was established by R.P. Roblin and his partners in 1893. Therefore, the date given for the construction of this Virden elevator by E. Cringan in her local history of Virden, 1891, can only be correct if the elevator was privately owned before its incorporation into the Northern Elevator chain. No evidence can be found to substantiate the creation of a new grain facility in Virden in either 1891 or 1892 but the Northern Elevator was in existence by 1895. At that time a local newspaper reported that the elevator was renovated inside and sheeted with metal outside, and a new smokestack erected.¹²

The elevator was leased that same year to S.P. Clarke of Winnipeg. It remained a Northern Elevator until its sale to the Manitoba Elevator Commission in August 1910, however. At that time it was described as being of red-painted tin, with a 35,000 bushel (952.5 tonne) capacity. It had twenty-four storage bins, six shipping bins, and two loading platforms each with a two-car capacity. The building was very old and in need of repairs.¹³ The elevator was the furthest east of the elevators located along the C.P.R. tracks.

The structure was leased by the government to the Grain Growers' Grain Company in 1912. It was dismantled in 1916

and its materials used to renovate the former Farmers Elevator.

6. S.S.Coulter Elevator, Virden

S.S.Coulter was originally employed as a grain buyer at the McBean Elevator, a position he retained until 1897 when he decided to erect his own elevator. The site he chose was east of the Lake of the Woods elevator, along the C.P.R. tracks. His elevator had a capacity of 20,000 bushels (816 tonnes).¹⁴

Coulter was still operating his elevator in 1904. Sometime after that it was acquired by the Imperial Elevator chain. It is not known whether it was dismantled or its operation was combined with that of the new company.

7. Imperial Elevator, Virden

According to the Manitoba Elevator Commission files, the Imperial Elevator was built in 1900 and had a capacity of 30,000 bushels (816 tonnes).¹⁵ This conflicts with the evidence that in 1904 Imperial acquired the S.S.Coulter Elevator, situated east of the Lake of the Woods Elevator.¹⁶ Another source indicates that the Imperial Elevator in 1916 was occupying the location of the S.S.Coulter Elevator and had approximately the same capacity.¹⁷ It seems likely then that the S.S.Coulter Elevator and the Imperial Elevator were one and the same. Probably the Imperial Elevator Company

increased the capacity of the Coulter Elevator, after its purchase, to 30,000 bushels (816 tonnes).

The Imperial Elevator was purchased by the Manitoba government in September 1910 for \$5700. When the government leased its elevator line to the Grain Grower's company in 1912, this elevator was left idle. It was later dismantled and rebuilt in Terrance by the U.G.G.¹²

8. United Grain Growers Elevator, Virden

In 1916 the United Grain Growers built an elevator on the C.N.R. line at the corner of Seventh Avenue. By 1960 this elevator was in very bad shape. The company considered rebuilding on the same site but the town council objected because Seventh Avenue had developed into a busy thoroughfare. It shortly became evident that the C.N.R. would likely be abandoning its branchline through Virden. Therefore a decision was made in 1964 to move the old elevator to a new location. The move was completed in 1966, to a site on the north side of the C.P.R. tracks, just west of Lacrosse Street. The elevator is still operated by the U.G.G. at this site.

9. Manitoba Pool Elevator, Maples / Virden

The Manitoba Pool local association, in 1928, built an elevator along the C.N.R. branchline from Hartney to Virden. It was located at Maples siding, three miles (4.8 km) south

of Virden, on SE4-10-26, on the farm christened "The Maoles" by its original owner, Col. E.A.C.Hosmer.

By 1957, 30,000 cars of grain had been shipped through this facility, the only Pool elevator in the eastern portion of Wallace municipality.¹⁹ It continued to handle larger quantities of grain than elevators located in Virden.

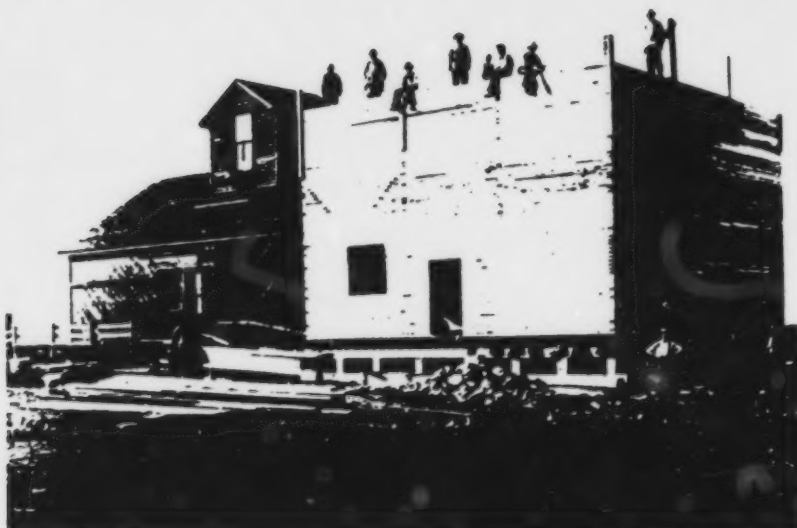
The Pool association faced a dilemma in 1964 when it became evident that the C.N.R. would be abandoning the railway line that serviced the elevator. The decision was made to move the Pool Elevator to the C.P.R. mainline in Virden. The removal of the structure to its new stone foundation was carried out by the Champagne Company of Winnipeg, in July 1966. Relocated near the intersection of Fifth Avenue and Seymour Street, the elevator was renovated and an annex was built.

A large modern Pool elevator was erected in 1977 northwest of Virden on SE33-10-26 along the C.P.R. This structure rendered the old white elevator in downtown Virden redundant. The old structure was sold to the B.P.Kent Flour Company. They currently use it for grain storage.

10. Ogilvie Elevator, Elkhorn

A flat warehouse was erected by the A.W.Ogilvie Milling Company in 1886. This was transformed into an elevator by 1892. Repairs were made to the elevator in August 1904.²⁰

The elevator had a capacity of 30,000 bushels (816 tonnes). It was located 1200 feet (365 m) east of the



Elevator under Construction, Virden, 1900.
(Source: P.A.M.)



Former Lake of the Woods Elevator, Elkhorn, 1967. (Source: P.A.M.)

Elkhorn Station, on the north side of the C.P.R. tracks, near the intersection of First and Railway streets.²¹

The elevator was purchased by the Pool Elevator in 1960. The old structure was removed from its site in 1965 to make room for the construction of a large 120,000 bushel (3265.8 tonne) capacity Pool Elevator.²²

11. Lake of the Woods Elevator, Elkhorn

This elevator was in existence by October 1891.²³ It was located 500 feet (152 m) east of Elkhorn Station, on the north side of the C.P.R. tracks at the intersection of Richill Avenue and Cavendish Street. The capacity of the elevator was 30,000 bushels (816 tonnes).

The elevator was taken over by Manitoba Pool Elevators in 1960. It was dismantled sometime after 1967, following the erection of a large new Pool elevator further east.

12. Crowe and Company / Dominion Elevator, Elkhorn

Crowe and Company possessed either a flat grain warehouse or an elevator in Elkhorn by fall 1891. Possibly this was the same flat warehouse built by H.M.Power of Miniota in 1886.²⁴ Crowe and Company's facilities were taken over by S.B.Clarke and Company in 1895. By 1905 this elevator was being operated by the Dominion Elevator Company.²⁵

The Dominion Elevator (or warehouse) was destroyed by fire 3 March 1909. At the time it contained 5000 bushels

(136 tonnes) of grain. Since the elevator was listed as having a 7000 bushel (190 tonne) capacity in 1907, it seems likely that the warehouse had never been expanded into an actual elevator. The company did not rebuild after the fire.

The site of the Dominion facility is unknown, but there is a likelihood that stockyards were later erected on the location.²⁴

13. Atkinson and Company Elevator, Elkhorn

Atkinson and Company erected an elevator along the C.P.R. tracks in Elkhorn in 1892.²⁷ It was located 1400 feet (427 m) east of the Elkhorn Station, between Second and Third streets.

Atkinson and Company united with a company owned by R.P. Roblin in 1893 to create the Northern Elevator Company. The Elkhorn elevator thereafter was known as a Northern Elevator. It had a capacity of 23,000 bushels (526 tonnes).

In 1910 farmers in the Elkhorn district petitioned the provincial government to purchase the Northern Elevator. In their petition they reported that since this facility was the only one which purchased oats in Elkhorn, it was necessary to reopen it as a market for the large quantities of oats and barley produced in the district as a method of weed control. The Elevator Commission bought the Northern Elevator in August 1910.²⁸

At that time the government inspector described it as covered with red tin, and containing eleven storage bins,

two shipping bins with an 800 bushel (18 tonne) capacity each, one cleaning bin, and two loading platforms. It was considered to be in good condition for its age.²⁹

Patronage of the Elkhorn government elevator was low in fall 1911. The Elkhorn Mercury gave as reasons for this the fact that the grain buyer was a new man, unknown to local farmers. Furthermore, he was not acting as an agent for any particular grain company. As well, the early grains harvested were in tough condition and these were graded higher if sold locally.³⁰

The Northern Elevator became part of the Grain Growers' elevator chain in 1912. As a United Grain Growers Elevator, it was dismantled and rebuilt in 1925. This structure was acquired by the fledgling Pool Elevator association in July 1928. It was dismantled around 1973 when the new modern Pool Elevator was erected in Elkhorn.

14. Manitoba Pool Elevator, Elkhorn

The Elkhorn Pool Elevator Association was formed in late 1928 or early 1929, with a capital of \$19,169. The association acquired the elevator formerly operated by the United Grain Growers, located east of the intersection of Railway Street and Second Street. Here, they purchased 2,049,671 bushels (55,784 tonnes) of grain during the first twenty years of operation.³¹

The Manitoba Pool Elevators were operating three elevators in Elkhorn in 1962, having purchased the Ogilvie

and Lake of the Woods' facilities. In 1973 these facilities were reduced to one large new modern elevator, located between First and Second streets along Railway Street. Today this is the only grain-buying operation in Elkhorn.

15. E.A.Holmes / R.A.Knight Elevator, Hargrave

As early as 1886 Hargrave farmers petitioned the C.P.R. for a flat warehouse at Hargrave. Shipping arrangements through Virden were not satisfactory. A grain warehouse must have been provided shortly afterward, because by 1891 "elevator equipment [was] placed in the Hargrave grain warehouse".³² A Hargrave news item in the Virden Advance in October 1891 reported:

Our elevator (quandem warehouse) is running full blast, the machinery working like a charm. Messrs. Caulfield and Holmes are quite busy taking in wheat and shipping out at night - two cars daily."³³

A month later, a new grain warehouse was opened by Crowe and Company, who began buying wheat and "providing competition".³⁴ To meet this, E.A.Holmes expanded his grain-buying operations in fall 1895 by completing a 30,000 bushel (816 tonne) capacity elevator. The building contained "32 square feet, with nine good-sized bins."³⁵ The elevator was located north of the C.P.R. tracks near the intersection of Railway Street and Wallace Avenue.

This elevator was destroyed by fire in 1900. At the time of the fire, the elevator contained 11,000 bushels (299

tonnes) of wheat and 1000 bushels (14.5 tonnes) of oats. After deducting the insurance, the company suffered a \$3000 loss. This fire also destroyed the neighboring Northern Elevator which had taken over the other grain-buying operation.³⁴

A new Holmes Elevator was completed and in operation, on the original site, by September 1900. The new elevator had a 35,000 bushel (952.5 tonne) capacity and contained new modern equipment. All grain could then be "cleaned before being weighed, according to new regulations".³⁵

E.A.Holmes was killed in an explosion in the engine room of the elevator in January 1901. The elevator was purchased by R.A.Knight sometime before 1904, and operated by him until 1910 when it was sold to the Manitoba Elevator Commission for \$5000. At that time it was described as covered with red tin, and having eleven storage bins, one cleaning bin, and one loading platform. Spouts ran "from the elevator head to the oat house and chopping mill attached to the elevator". The oat house had an estimated capacity of 600 bushels (8.7 tonnes).³⁶

The file on this government elevator is marked "dismantled", indicating that the Grain Growers' Grain Company did not choose to purchase it after they leased the government elevators in 1912.

16. Northern Elevator / United Grain Growers Elevator,
Hargrave

J.J.Caulfield erected a 30,000 bushel (816 tonne) capacity elevator in Hargrave in September 1895. By 1897 this elevator was operated by the Manitoba Elevator Company. The structure was part of the Northern Elevator Company chain when it was destroyed by fire in June 1900. The fire began in the Holmes Elevator and spread downtrack to the Hargrave Station and the Northern Elevator, 200 yards (182.8 m) from the station.³⁹

The building of a new Northern Elevator was completed by August 1900. The new structure only had a capacity of 25,000 bushels (680 tonnes). It was red-painted tin, and had eleven storage bins, two shipping bins, and one loading platform. It was purchased by the Manitoba government in 1910.⁴⁰

The elevator was leased to the Grain Growers' Grain Company in 1912, and eventually purchased by them. Remodelled and modernized in 1968, it is presently operated by the United Grain Growers.

17. McHugh and Christensen Elevator / United Grain Growers
Elevator, Hargrave

This 25,000 bushel (680 tonne) capacity elevator was built by McHugh and Christensen in 1902 and was the third Hargrave elevator. It was located just east of the Northern Elevator. In 1906 the facility became the property of McLaughlin and Ellis.⁴¹ On 27 September 1910 the Manitoba government purchased the elevator for \$5400. At that time

the elevator possessed eleven storage bins, two shipping bins, one cleaning bin, and one loading platform. Covered with painted black tin, it was considered to be in good condition.⁴²

When the government decided to divest itself of its elevator line, this elevator was purchased by Meyer Chesik and Solomon Gold of Winnipeg for \$1000, in August 1917. They either dismantled it or sold it to Pool Elevators.

18. Manitoba Pool Elevator, Hargrave

A Pool elevator operated in Hargrave until the opening of the huge new Pool Elevator in Virden in 1977. At that time the Pool Elevator in Hargrave was purchased by the United Grain Grower's for use as additional storage space.

This elevator may have been the former McLaughlin Ellis Elevator. More likely it was erected by the local Pool association prior to 1930. The structure was modernized in 1960.⁴³

19. Manitoba Pool Elevator, Kirkella

When Kirkella was established in 1904 as a station along the Pheasant Hills Branch of the C.P.R., the Winnipeg Elevator Company erected a 27,000 bushel (735 tonne) capacity elevator there. The Winnipeg Elevator Company became part of the Canadian Consolidated Grain Company which operated the Kirkella elevator from 1924 until the early 1950's. At that time the structure was taken over by the

Manitoba Pool Elevator Association. A new buyer was installed in the facility. Very soon he had so greatly increased the output of the operation that a large new annex had to be added to the original structure. Today this elevator services a large area of eastern Saskatchewan, as well as northwestern Wallace, and southwestern Archie municipalities.

20. Lake of the Woods Elevator, Harmsworth

In 1909 Harmsworth siding was created on NE33-11-26 by the building of the C.P.R. branchline between Virden and McAuley. Shortly after, the Lake of the Woods Milling Company erected an elevator there. It functioned until 1962. Today it is privately owned by area farmer, James Nichol.**

21. Ogilvie Elevator, Two Creeks

Two Creeks was created by the building of the Virden-McAuley branchline. On NE19-12-26, an Ogilvie Elevator was built around 1913. The elevator was dismantled in 1952. The materials were shipped to Broadview and used to construct an elevator there.

B. Industries

1. Virden Roller Mills

A flour mill was considered an essential asset if a community was to continue growing. The nearest grist mill

for the early inhabitants of Virden district was the Leitch Brothers' mill at Oak Lake. For settlers located west of Virden this was a fair distance to travel to have grain ground into flour. By 1884 the demand for a flour mill within Wallace was so great that a petition was presented to the municipal council by Messrs. Thompson and Bouverie. The response of the council was to introduce a bylaw providing a mill bonus to anyone establishing a grist or flour mill in the district.⁴⁵ The bylaw was defeated.

Meanwhile Messrs. Wellington and Dier proceeded with plans to build a four-storey high mill near the C.P.R. water tower. The contractor, W.O. Wyatt of Virden, completed the mill by February 1886, and it opened for business immediately. The proprietors were listed as Dier, Souair, and Craig.⁴⁶

It is probable that eventually the Wallace Council did pay some kind of bonus to the mill owners. The Virden Advance announced that "of the the mills built at Regina, Qu'Appelle, Indian Head, Oak Lake, and Carberry, the Virden bonus was the smallest."⁴⁷ For certain, Pipestone R.M. paid a \$2000 bonus to the owners.

The millowners were very busy in the early years and even shipped several carloads of flour to England, an indication that the quality of the milled product was more than adequate.⁴⁸

New machinery was installed in the mill in August 1887. The mill was sold to M. Koester and his brother of Brandon.

in November 1888. It was obviously in bad shape because the owners found it necessary to make major repairs before reopening. One of these improvements was the building of a new engine house at a cost of \$800. By 1891 M. Koester and his sons Carl and Fred were operating the mill.⁴⁹

The Koesters advertised the sale of Patent Process Flour for \$2.75 per sack and \$2.50 in ten-pound (4.5 kg) lots, delivered free anywhere in town. As well, they promised to custom grist forty pounds of flour per bushel (666 kg per tonne) of No. 1 wheat. This process would also produce eighteen pounds (8 kg) of feed for the owner of the wheat. The Koesters' business was successful enough to warrant the opening of a "flour and feed store on Nelson Street for the convenience of those who have no business to do at the mill or elevators".⁵⁰ This action is also an indication of the competition they were facing from dealers located downtown, who handled flour from big milling companies such as Ogilvies. The Koesters even made plans to move their mill to a more central location, near the tracks at the corner of Queen Street and Sixth Avenue.⁵¹

The Virden Roller Mill was destroyed by fire in May 1893. Koester and Sons sold their Flour and Feed store downtown to David Fraser who stocked it with flour from Ogilvie Mills.⁵² Obviously, the family was not interested in rebuilding the mill.

2. Virden Milling Company

The loss of Koesters' mill was greatly felt in the district. Petitions were made to the village and municipal councils to consider the question of a new grist mill. Meanwhile \$11,500 was raised by subscription towards the erection of a grist mill in Virden. A joint stock company called the Virden Milling Company was formed. Its object was to build and operate a flour mill and elevator in Virden. The capital stock of the company was to be \$12,500 divided into 500 shares of \$25 each. The first directors of the company were Mayor Kennedy, J.J.Caulfield, James Saunders, R.E.Trumbell, W.J. Wilcox, H.C.Simpson, and J.F. Frame, the Member of the Provincial Parliament.²³

The building site chosen for the mill was located across the tracks from the Virden C.P.R. station, on Fifth Avenue between Wellington and Nelson avenues. This was a fairly central location. The company signed a contract with a large manufacturing firm in the east to rush the work and have the mill ready by October 1894. The building plans were as follows:

The building itself will be a very substantial structure and will be a marked improvement on the old one which was destroyed by fire just over a year ago. The basement and second storey will be composed of solid stone walls, three feet thick at the bottom and tapering to two feet. The size of the building will be 32x79 feet, twenty feet of which is to be used for storing wheat. The top floor will be 32x38 feet, the walls will be frame and it will be roofed with metallic shingles. Nothing but the very best material is to be used in the building....²⁴

After the roller mill began operations in the fall of 1894, the ratepayers of the municipality approved a bylaw exempting the Virden Milling Company from taxation for a ten year period.⁵⁵ The following year the company increased its storage capacity by building a 10,000 bushel (272 tonne) addition to the elevator attached to the mill. The contractor was George Marshall.⁵⁶

The mill and its 20,000 bushel (544 tonne) capacity elevator were leased to various individuals over the years. W.D.Craig became the manager in 1896. In 1902 the Manitoba Free Press described the Virden Roller Mill during his tenure.

This mill is one of the best little grist mills in the west. It is fitted with the best and most modern full roller Hungarian machinery, and turns out the very best grades of flour....This firm is putting in a new system of bolting, which will increase the capacity of the mill fifty per cent, giving it a total capacity of 75 barrels per day. Craig and Co. are well patronized by the citizens of Virden and residents throughout the district.⁵⁷

The mill and its elevator were sold by the Virden Milling Company to Hubbard and Brine in 1910. They were probably the last operators of the mill, which by 1916 had already been closed for a number of years.⁵⁸ By that time water shortages, poor crops, and competition from the Ogilvie and Lake of the Woods milling companies had destroyed the mill's viability. There is a possibility that the structure was destroyed by fire at a later date.

By 1921 Virden residents were once more campaigning for a grist mill. Plans were presented to the Board of Trade for a fifty barrel (8.2 cubic metre) a day capacity mill by George Robson of Guelph, Ontario. A bylaw was prepared by the town council for ratepayers approval. It would have exempted the mill site, lots 21-28, Block 118 (the old school site) from taxation for a ten year period. The bylaw was defeated.⁵⁹

3. B.P.Kent Flour Mill

Virden citizens never ceased to hope that once more a successful milling operation could be established in their town, to utilize the grain produced in the surrounding area. A delegation consisting of C.E.Ivens, Reeve of the municipality, A.E.Higginbotham, Mayor of the town, and W.R.Wilson, was sent to Somerset, Manitoba in 1934 to interview B.P.Kent and invite him to establish a mill in Virden.

B.P.Kent had learned the trade of milling and millwrighting by apprenticeship at Simcoe and Goderich, Ontario. Later he built and operated two mills: one at Brantford, and a second at Walkerton, Ontario. When the latter was destroyed by fire in 1910, he moved west to Somerset where he erected a 100 barrel (16.37 cubic metre) per day capacity mill.

B.P.Kent reached an agreement with the combined councils of Wallace and Virden. The agreement called for him

to build a mill at the corner of Sixth Avenue and King Street, on lots 1 - 4, Block 79. All his grain was purchased locally during the early years of the operation. The mill carried on a wholesale and gristing trade until 1940 when, because of the war, it was able to enter the export market. Business boomed as the mill filled urgent orders for flour from Britain and other war-torn countries, as well as the Middle East.

This expansion led to the establishment of a limited company in 1946 with B.P.Kent as president. The mill's capacity was expanded to 200 barrels (32.7 cubic metres) per day, its products being bran, shorts, middlings, grits, whole pastry flour, pastry flour, and general purpose flour. The export market peaked in 1947 at over a half-million dollars. The export business was gradually phased out after the completion of some Russian contracts.

Since 1957 the company has engaged in supplying retail outlets in Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan, and in the gristing of feeds. Two brands of flour are produced: Prairie Dawn, a high patent too quality flour, and Salvo, a high grade bakers' flour produced for the baking trade. A third brand of commercial grade is flown into northern Canada or exported.

In 1959 the company invested in a Daffin mobile feed unit to provide service at "farm locations grinding home grown feed grain and mixing it with concentrates according to the feeders' specifications."⁴⁰ This service was

originally offered within a forty-mile (72.4 km) radius. A small stationary feed plant was operated in conjunction with this mobile operation. Supplies and pharmaceuticals related to the feed business were added to the office for retailing.

B.P.Kent died in 1953. His son A.R.Kent took over operation of the mill. Today, A.R.Kent's son, Larry operates the family business. The company, employing approximately thirty men, is one of the major industries in Virden, and is the only flour mill located in Manitoba outside Winnipeg.

4. Elkhorn Grist Mill

Evidence shows that as early as summer 1885 Elkhorn citizens were holding planning meetings for the building of a flour mill. A stock company was formed in August 1885. Farmers offered to subscribe wheat and oats as a bonus toward the erection of a mill. A petition was presented to Wallace Council requesting a \$5000 bonus for builders of a mill. The idea was rejected because eastern residents already possessed the services of the Virden mill. Apparently, the Elkhorn Milling Company, formed at this time, did erect some sort of building in 1887. Without machinery, however, it was "feared that the building in its present shape will not be capable of receiving the amount of wheat that will be marketed here, the yield all around being very large."¹

Nothing more was done about the mill. The question was reactivated in spring 1893 when once more Elkhorn

ratepayers, supported by the Farmers Institute and the Patrons of Industry, approved the idea of a mill bonus. Once again the municipal council rejected the idea because the eastern portion of the municipality didn't require a mill, and resented any attempt to make them support the payment of a mill bonus.⁴²

With much pressure from petitioning ratepayers, the municipality eventually passed a bylaw which proposed to raise \$1000 through the sale of debentures for the "purpose of bonusing anyone who would erect a grist mill in Elkhorn capable of manufacturing at least 100 barrels per day of flour".⁴³ Approval of the bylaw was only required from the western townships of the municipality (townships 11, 12, Range 28, townships 10-12, Range 27). Thus the bylaw gained approval.

Since a 100 barrel (16.37 cubic metre) per day mill was considered too big for Elkhorn, and therefore unable to compete with larger mills and run at a profit, no one could be found to build that size of mill. The insistence of Elkhorn's citizens on a large mill was due to the rivalry that existed between Virden and Elkhorn. Originally, the ratepayers had wanted a 300 barrel (49 cubic metre) capacity mill, equal to the size of Leitch Brothers' mill at Oak Lake.⁴⁴

In the fall of 1894 the bylaw was altered to accommodate the bonusing of \$400 to a smaller capacity mill. Although several people showed interest in erecting a mill

under the conditions of the bylaw, nothing constructive was accomplished until May 1895. when seven Elkhorn residents formed a joint stock company called the Elkhorn Milling Company. The capital stock of the company was \$10,000. divided into 500 shares worth \$20 each.⁴⁵

The company chose a site on the western end of Elkhorn, near the railway. The present day location is lots 8-10. Block 15. near the junction of Railway and Elk streets. The building and machinery purchased from the Assiniboia Flour Mills in Moosomin was moved here. The 75 barrel (12 cubic metre) per day capacity mill opened in October 1895. The following detailed description which appeared in the local paper reflected the pride Elkhorn's citizens felt in their new mill.

The building is built of frame with stone foundation and is sheeted over with tin, size 36x40 with engine room built of stone 20x26. Williamson and Adamson did the stone work; Mr. Parsons did a large share of the carpenter work; Jas. Ellerington did the tinwork while the task of placing the engine and boiler was left to Mr. J.C.Carson.....The millwrights engaged on the mill were Messrs. J.Riddell and Jas. Will of Moosomin....

Starting at the ground floor or basement we find two scouring machines, and two cyclone dusters for same; receiving bins for wheat, shafting and pulleys, elevator boots, etc., all on a first class cement floor.

Proceeding upwards to the first floor there are seen 9 hand packers: one power packer; bran and shorts packer; 60 bushel Hopper scale; 5 double stands of E.P.Ellice Standard Roll - 9x9 and two pairs of 1200 lb. scales. On this floor there is a chute for loading direct in customers' wagons. The miller's office is also situated here. On the second floor there are three George T.Smith purifiers, and two centrifugals of the same make; three round reels and one Inter-elevator reel; one

bran duster, one large receiving duster and one Richmond separator, cyclones, shafting belts, etc. and various bins for flour and wheat....

On the third floor there are two inter-elevator bolts, three graders and scalpers, elevator heads, various spouts, turn tables, etc....Descending to the engine room we find a 100 horsepower boiler - Goldie and McCulloch make, a 75 horsepower engine - Jerome Whellock system... There is a power pump for feeding [the] boiler and a large Worthington fire pump; there is also a dynamo for electric light. The mill is heated throughout with steam....⁴⁴

D.W.Rowand, the former head miller at Leitch Brothers' mill in Oak Lake, became the manager of the Elkhorn Mill. The operation was taken over by Clifford and Hoops in October 1898, and then leased in October 1899 to C.F.Travis, the former railway agent in Elkhorn. Travis overhauled the mill and probably increased its capacity to 100 barrels (16.37 cubic metres). He kept A.B.Clifford as the head miller.⁴⁵ Travis promptly offered immediate gristing services to those bringing their grain from a distance so as not to delay these farmers.

The directors of Elkhorn Milling Company, unfortunately, had undertaken to erect the mill when only half the shares had been sold and were unable to sell any additional shares after the mill was in operation. The mill operated in a state of near-bankruptcy until 1900 when, due to a mortgage clause, it was sold at public auction. The Union Bank was the purchaser. Under its management the mill continued to be leased to C.F.Travis, and to operate at full capacity.⁴⁶

The mill was sold to Reid Bros. of Winnipeg in November 1905. An agreement between the new owners and the Elkhorn Board of Trade required that a spur line be built by public subscription to connect the mill with the C.P.R. In return, the brothers promised to build an elevator adjoining the mill. The spur line was built by the village council but the mill's owners never fulfilled their commitment.⁶⁷

The mill was sold again in 1912 to A. Evenden who overhauled it. Without an elevator, however, the mill operated at a great disadvantage and was closed permanently by the beginning of World War I. Like Virden's mill, Elkhorn's operation could not compete with the flour prices of the large milling companies. It became more economical for farmers to sell their own grain separately and then purchase flour in the village stores; the already shaky financial foundation of the mill was doomed.

The mill was permanently silent in 1916. The property was sold by Evenden to Mrs. C. Young in 1918.⁷⁰ The mill was dismantled at a later date.

5. Virden Manufactory Company

William Whiteford of Montgomery district in 1905 invented a weighing device to measure the amount of grain flowing from the threshing machine into bags. According to a local newspaper, he had reached the conclusion that

the weighing apparatus on the bagger of a threshing machine was not doing justice to either the thresher or the farmer. If a farmer's wheat

was extra good and heavy, he did not get a bushel by measure and on the other hand if his grain was lightweight the machine man got the worst of it. In order to give all justice and give a bushel by measure, Mr. Whiteford set to work to device a scheme or machine. He has succeeded in perfecting a bagger that is giving good satisfaction. Everytime the bagger trips it dumps a measured half bushel stroked off level. The mechanism is simple and it can be attached to any machine the same as the ordinary high bagger....⁷¹

The Virden Manufactory Company was formed in 1907 to produce the Whiteford Justice Measure. The directors of the company were Col. C.E.Ivens, D.M.Handy, A.Odell, A.W.H. Smith, A.E.Smith, W.Leverington.⁷² The plant was established at the corner of Seventh Avenue and Raglan Street, on lots 9-10, Block 103. In 1910 an addition was made to the Virden Manufactory Company building. The company had acquired lots 11-13, Block 103, as well.⁷³

A pump manufacturing business established in Virden in 1896 by George Rockola, (later the inventor of the Wurlitzer Juke Box), was taken over by Thomas Williams in 1900. This pump manufacturing company was later consolidated with the Virden Manufactory Company.⁷⁴ Pumps replaced the Whiteford Measure as the main manufactured product.

The company property was still owned by Wm. Leverington in 1923 but production probably ceased during World War I. The building was later used as a garage before it was demolished to make room for the new post office which occupies the site today.

6. Virden Brickyard

An element considered beneficial to the development of a town was the presence of locally produced building materials. Virden lacked a lumber supply, so a brickyard was considered essential for her continued growth. Actually, it was the natural supply of fieldstones which was exploited by early builders, rather than the locally manufactured bricks.

The first bricks produced in Virden were of clay from the site of the former Gopher Creek settlement, located one mile (1.6 km) east of Virden townsite. Sherif and Neden were the two men who began the enterprise in early 1890. In 1893 the operation was directed by Messrs. Saul and Irish. The following description of their venture appeared in the Elkhorn Advocate.

Mr. Saul's brickyard is situated about a mile and a half out of town, and is now in full blast. The process of brickmaking does not appear to be a very elaborate one, one individual digs it (the clay) into a cart which is drawn away to the grinder, made pliable during the grinding by supplies of water. After leaving the mill it is received into a moulding box of about half a dozen at a time and barrowed away as fast as three or four men can wheel them. They are then laid out singly to dry for three or four days, then piled three abreast for another day or two, and then kilned for another three or four days, after which they are ready for use. On an average from ten to twenty thousand bricks can be moulded per day and they have already turned out 350,000 bricks and have been so far able to keep the supply abreast of the demand. The bricks are claimed to be superior to the Brandon bricks and about half the cost...78

In reality the bricks were of a coarse nature, of a rose-orange colour, and bearing no mark in the suction cup. They enjoyed moderate local success at best. Lacking an export market, and facing stiff competition from other Manitoba brickyards, the enterprise shut down in 1902.

In 1905 the manufacture of bricks was undertaken by the Virden Brick and Tile Company, formed by W.A.Bridgett, W.J.Gyles, G.N.Miller, W.I.Kennedy, and C.W.Wainwright. Wainwright became the manager of the enterprise. This brickyard created a cream-colored product which was used locally and shipped westward. Production was approximately 3,000,000 bricks annually. The company operated until 1915. Many Virden buildings, including the former firehall, were constructed of this local product.⁷⁶

In 1920 Manitoba Clays and Building Supplies acquired the brick plant and began production in spring 1923. The manager was Mr. Vetie. He employed thirty men at the vard. It is not known how long the company operated, but the new building era the company forecast never materialized.⁷⁷

7. Virden Cheese Factory

Like a mill and a brickyard, a cheese factory was considered an asset to community development.

Thomas Tapp arrived in Virden in 1887 from Ontario where he had spent eleven years as a cheesemaker. Along with R.McDowell, he made arrangements to open a cheese factory in May 1887. This development was heralded as a financial boon

for area farmers. It took one gallon (3.8 litres), or ten pounds (4.5 kg) of milk, to make a pound (.4 kg) of cheese, which sold for 14 cents. After the cheesemakers deducted their profit and operating costs, 2 1/4 cents per pound (5.6 cents per kg), the farmer received 11 3/4 cents per gallon (3 cents per litre) of milk. The operators also agreed to haul the milk at an extra rate of one cent per pound (2.5 cents per kg) of cheese.⁷⁸

According to the operating system employed at the cheese factory, the patrons appointed a treasurer, an auditor, and a seller. The amounts realized by the sale of cheese were divided among the patrons according to the weight of milk they sent to the factory between May and October. During the first season of operation, Taop and McDowell prepared an excellent quality cheese which they were able to sell as far west as the Pacific coast. Their production figures were over 50 tons (45 tonnes).⁷⁹

Taop bought out the interests of McDowell in 1889 and continued to operate the cheese factory seasonally. In 1895 he sold 1200 pounds (544 kg) of cheese to local merchants, Pineo and Merrick. At the end of that season he still had several thousand pounds (approximately 900 kg) of cheese remaining to be sold.⁸⁰

At first the factory owners kept a herd of cows and rented good milk cows as well, to insure an adequate supply of milk, should the local farmers not patronize the industry. A notice in the Wallace Council minutes in June

1888 instructed the "nuisance inspector to notify the owners or occupants of the Virden Cheese Factory to remove their pigs to the limits of town forthwith".⁸¹ Obviously health regulations were lax in the nineteenth century!

Tapp operated the cheese factory at an unidentified location in Virden until 1907. At that time he purchased SW23-11-26 and moved the cheese-making equipment to this farm, where he continued the operation for many more years.

8. Virden Jam Factory

T.H.W.Hall established a jam factory in Virden in 1890. He manufactured and sold plum, apricot, peach, and raspberry jams in seven pound (2.8 kg) tins for \$1.00 each. It was also available in 50 and 25 cent tins. Hall also sold other confectioneries such as cakes, cookies, tarts and candies. He had ceased operations by 1893.⁸²

9. Virden Creamery

Although Virden did not possess a creamery until well into the twentieth century, it is interesting to note that its citizens played a role in establishing butter-grading regulations in Manitoba.

At a meeting held in Virden in March 1890, of retail merchants and farmers from Elkhorn, Virden, Oak Lake and surrounding municipalities, a committee was elected to draft rules for the grading of butter. They decided that a public inspector should be appointed. Three grades of butter, with

scaled prices for each, were identified, with prices to be regulated by the Winnipeg market. Butter was to be packed in new tubs which would be painted with paraffin on the inside. The use of old pails or tubs was forbiddeen. The committee also recommended the use of English salt.²³

At this point in time all butter sold in the district was produced by local farmers. These new regulations were used until 1914, when the Manitoba Department of Agriculture began grading creamery butter.

Virden farmers were interested in establishing a creamery as early as 1895, but it was not until 1912 that a creamery company was created to operate Virden Creamery. The originators were J.A.McLachlan and W.A.Bridgett. The creamery was located on Block 78 on Seventh Avenue. It was a one and one-half storey building with an ice house.²⁴

At an annual meeting in January 1917, the creamery company reported that it had paid \$13,591.61 for milk and cream during the year, an increase of \$700 over the previous year. Profits were proportionately elevated as well.²⁵

The Virden Creamery was purchased by Holland Creameries in August 1920. Holland Creameries was owned by Ed Fotheringham, whose chain included creameries in Winnipeg, Gilbert Plains, Manitou, and Somerset.

The output of the Virden creamery increased from 80,000 to 300,000 pounds (36,288-136,080 kg) of milk products in 1926. The creamery was one of the largest industries in the district, paying \$10,000 a month for cream, plus large

amounts for eggs and poultry. The local manager, Mr. Wrixton, was credited with this success.♦♦

Ed Fotheringham sold Virden Creamery to Dalton Powers in 1935. After Powers' death, his wife carried on the business, producing butter and ice cream, until 1975.

The former creamery building has served several purposes since then. In 1985 the structure was converted into a carwash.

10. Elkhorn Creamery

The idea of establishing a local creamery was planted in the minds of Elkhorn farmers by Prof. Robertson of the Dominion Dairy Commission, who endeavoured to have creameries established along the route of the C.P.R.. He proposed in 1894 that the government erect the buildings and rent them to farmers at a low rate of interest. When he visited Elkhorn with his department's "travelling dairy" in 1894, practical instructions were given on how to make butter and how to improve pasturage conditions. Farmers, led by the Farmers' Institute, held meetings to discuss the best method of obtaining a creamery. They soon realized that the project was unattainable without a \$2000 grant from either the railway, government, or some other agency. They also recognized that a creamery could improve the grades of their homemade butter, and thus increase the prices they received for it.♦♦

The need for a creamery increased as more land was developed in the region and farming operations expanded. By 1909 Elkhorn farmers were shipping 38 cans of cream per week to Brandon. A similar amount was leaving Hargrave station. It was the Grain Growers' Association and the Elkhorn Agricultural Society which finally pushed for the creation of a joint stock company to build a local creamery.⁸⁸

In 1910, a committee consisting of George Lidster and J. Webster canvassed the area and reported applications for 77 shares of stock and promises of over 200 cows. The Elkhorn Creamery Company was established with shares selling at \$10 and a limit of 30 shares per person. Fifteen per cent of the capital was to be subscribed before building would commence. At first the company anticipated help from the Roblin government, which offered to give them the plant and equipment from the Birtle Creamery. Inspection found this equipment to be out-dated and neglected.⁸⁹ The creamery company now realized it was on its own.

E.A. Parsons was contracted to build a structure near the agricultural grounds and the C.P.R. depot. A plant was purchased from St. Jean Baptiste and ice was hauled from Brandon. The creamery commenced operations in April 1911.⁹⁰

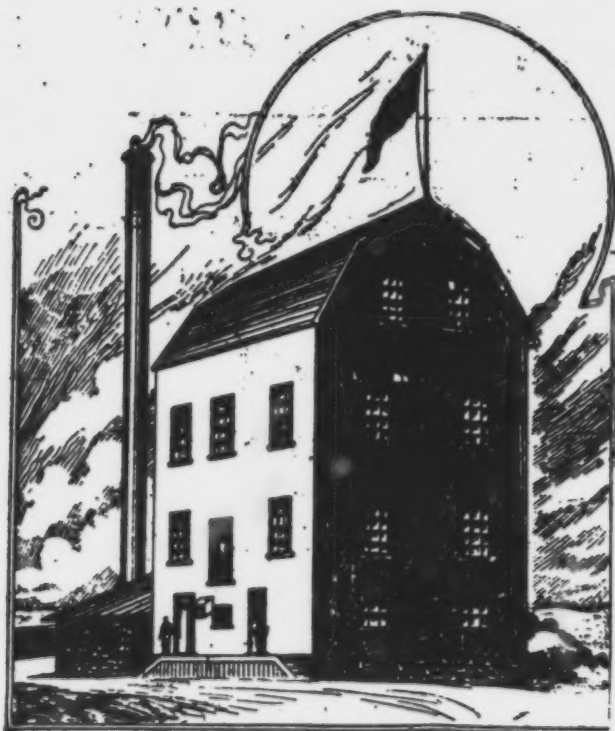
The creamery purchased butterfat at 24 cents per pound (60 cents per kg). It produced 5311 pounds (2409 kg) of butter in May 1911. The company hired an experienced buttermaker, A.V. Holmgren of Chicago City, Minnesota to operate the creamery seasonally from May to November.⁹¹

By 1915 patronage had increased to the level where the creamery could remain open all year round. The demand for creamery butter in the West encouraged the company to raise \$1600 to place the business on a more solid foundation, so that it could install new equipment such as a pasteurizer. The creamery began to pay dividends in 1917 as local shipments of butter to Vancouver and the Maritimes increased. By 1920 it was again necessary to increase the capital stock, this time to \$35,000. The creamery board was reorganized. Expansion of buildings was undertaken. The creamery installed an up-to-date ice cream plant and a refrigeration plant.⁹²

In 1921 the plant produced over 100,000 pounds (45,360 kg) of butter, along with 5000 gallons (18,927 litres) of ice cream. It paid out \$40,000 for butterfat during that year. Unfortunately, the creamery building was destroyed by fire 25 June 1922, at a loss of \$25,000. The company was only partially insured.⁹³

Brandon Creamery purchased the creamery site in 1929 and moved the plant and equipment of the Narcisse Creamery to Elkhorn. Once again Elkhorn Creamery, under Cecil Paddock, began to win awards. In 1945 the Manitoba Co-op purchased the Brandon Creamery chain. This included the creameries at Miniota and Elkhorn.

A new office, 20x20 feet (6x6 m) was added to the Manitoba Dairy and Poultry Cooperative Creamery in Elkhorn



Elkhorn Roller Mills, Elkhorn (Source: Manitoba Free Press, 28 June 1901, p. 18)



B.P. Kent Flour Mill, Virden.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch, 1986)



Virden Flour Mill, 1888 (Source: P.A.M.)



Elkhorn Creamery, 1985 (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

in May 1951. The creamery doubled its egg-handling capacity in 1953 by the introduction of an egg-weighing machine.⁹⁴

The centralization of the Manco Creamery's butter-making plant in Brandon in 1956 affected the operation of the Elkhorn creamery, but the creamery has continued to operate at its original location at the west end of Maharg Avenue.

C. Post Offices

1. Virden Post Office

By 1882 railway construction had proceeded past Brandon and a railway construction camp was set up on the east bank of Gopher Creek, about one mile (1.6 km) east of the present townsite of Virden. Settlers flocked here to take up homesteads along the surveyed route of the line. To keep them in contact with the world a post office was opened by W.F. Scarth in September 1882.

Once Gopher Creek had been bridged, the railway company established a permanent townsite on 22-10-26, to which the early commercial establishments on Gopher Creek were transferred. The new name of Virden was eventually given the post office.

Scarth erected a new store and post office on the corner of Nelson Street and Seventh Avenue in September 1888. The two-storey building was 25x80 feet (7.6x24 m) with plate glass windows. Although Scarth immediately sold his

commercial enterprise to J.J.Dunlop, he retained control of the post office in the building.⁹³

Since Virden was located on the mainline of the C.P.R., it enjoyed very good mail service. As early as 1893 two trains travelled east and two trains travelled west daily except Sundays, when only one train journeyed each direction.

In 1895 Scarth moved the post office out of the Dunlop store to the former bank property, about one-quarter of a block down Nelson Street, where the lane intersected it. Here the post office remained until the Department of Public Works erected a new brick building on the opposite side of Nelson Street in 1914, on Lot 13, Block 102. Presently, this latter building is known as the Scott Block.

The contract for this new post office was given to W.T.Manser of Virden for \$33,900, in May 1913. For materials he used bricks from the Virden Brick Company, and stone from the Garson Quarries. All the labourers were local except for two Italian workers who came from Winnipeg to lay the polished terrazo floors.

A high tower window was later filled by a clock donated by Sir James Aikin, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. The clock was supplied by J. Smith and Sons of Derby England at a cost of 159 pounds, eight shillings, three pence, in 1914. It consisted of an 800 pound (363 kg) bell and four five-foot (1.5 m) dials.⁹⁴

An extension was built at the rear of the post office in 1954 at a cost of \$75,000. When a new post office was erected in 1971, on the corner of Seventh Avenue and Raglan Street, the old post office building was renovated as an apartment building. The clock was first sold to an antique dealer in Boston, but later replaced in the rebuilt tower by the Chamber of Commerce. It was converted to electricity, however, and no longer strikes the hours.

2. Elkhorn Post Office

According to letters by an early homesteader, Arthur Sherwood, no post office existed in Elkhorn in August 1883. One must have been established shortly afterward, when the railway reached the village. The first post office was operated by John McLeod in his tent store. Later he built a big store and post office on Lot 12, Block 32, at the corner of Richill Avenue and Kildare Street.

Robert Marsh became postmaster in 1896 and moved the post office to a building situated on a lot "now occupied by Dan Rowan and sons." W.M.Cushing took over the post office around 1898 and moved the service to a building later occupied by the Queen's Cafe. Walter Davey took charge of the mail in 1908 and relocated in 1910 on Lot 10, Block 31. The post office remained here, under the direction of succeeding postmasters: A.McNab Frazer, John F.Frazer, and J.M.McCorkingdale.

The present brick post office was built in 1935 to replace the frame building. The old building was demolished. McCorkingdale temporarily moved the mail service across Richill Avenue to the Masonic Hall. The new structure was constructed on the old site by Bonnet Brothers of Winnipeg, at a cost of \$25,000. It officially opened in May 1936.

Postmaster McCorkingdale retired in April 1950 after twenty-five years service. His successor, John Armstrong, was the great grandson of Elkhorn's first postmaster, John McLeod. Upon Armstrong's death in 1979, Doris Berry became postmaster.

3. Kola Post Office

Arthur Sherwood came to Wallace in 1882 and homesteaded the western half of NE16-10-29. The other half of the quarter section was homesteaded by C.Wainwright, in 1882 as well. The two men, in partnership, opened a small store and post office on SE16-10-29 in 1886. The partnership was dissolved sometime around 1892, with Wainwright moving to Virden where he later managed the Virden Brickyard.⁹⁷

The Kola post office was moved further south in 1892 to the home of John Madge on NE34-9-29. This location in the Pipestone Valley was identified in the Virden Board of Trade map of 1898.

Mail to both these early locations was hauled overland by horse and buggy from Elkhorn station. Postal services in Kola district were provided either by Kola post office.

located in Pipestone municipality after 1892, or by Ebor (later known as Arawana) post office until the 1950's. At that time the influx of Mennonite settlers to Township 10, Range 29 resulted in the establishment of a post office in the hamlet of Kola on 22-10-29.

4. Ebor / Arawana Post Office

A post office opened at the residence of Frederick Chapole on NE24-10-29 sometime between 1890-92. Chapole was an early homesteader in Township 10, Range 29, coming from Devonshire, England in 1882. The small frame house he built in 1883 served as the post office at first. It was later moved elsewhere and replaced by a four-bedroom, two-storey cement block house. Today this house is the residence of Neil Grant.

When the C.P.R. branchline was built from Reston to Wolseley in 1905, a station called Ebor was created further south along the line. To avoid confusion, the Ebor Post Office was renamed the Arawana Post Office, to coincide with the school district in which it was located.

Mail to Arawana was delivered from Elkhorn station by horse and buggy every Friday in the early years. In 1923 the Chapoles retired to Elkhorn and Arawana Post Office closed after thirty-three years of service. Mail service was henceforth provided through Elkhorn Post Office.

5. Daly Post Office

A post office was established on NW12-10-28 in 1888. This property was homesteaded by a remittance man, Noblette Carter St. Leger in 1884, and the adjoining property SW12-10-28 was homesteaded by a relative, Arthur Daly Carter St.Leger. This is probably the reason the post office was called Daly.™

In 1892 the post office location was identified as 10-10-28. This was the property of Otis Rathbone to which, supposedly, Nobel Carter moved.™

A Virden Board of Trade map of 1898 places the post office on NW12-10-28, its original location. In 1900 the post office was back at 10-10-28, but by 1906 it was again located on 12-10-28. At this time the postmaster was Wm. McKenzie.

Daly Post Office received weekly mail delivery from Virden. The facility closed in 1927. Thereafter mail service was through Virden.

6. Hargrave Post Office

R.J.Hill built a store in the small hamlet of Hargrave in 1891.¹⁰⁰ In it he established Hargrave's first post office, providing mail service for Township 11, ranges 26, 27. The post office remained in the store for some time. In the 1950's it was operated in the home of T.Gordon, moving to the Paige General Store in 1966.

Today Hargrave Post Office is no longer located in the townsite. It is situated in the home of A. Heaman one mile (1.6 km) from Hargrave.

7. Harmsworth Post Office

Two post offices located just north of Wallace municipality served Township 12, ranges 26, 27. These were Burnbank Post Office, operated by George Allison on 7-13-27, and Two Creeks Post Office on 6-13-26.

The building of the C.P.R. branchline from Virden to McAuley in 1909 created a siding at Harmsworth on NE33-11-26. Mail service could then be established there. Fire destroyed the Two Creeks store-post office in 1956 and the mail for that district was rerouted to Harmsworth as well. Harmsworth Post Office was operated by Carl Winkler and later his son Alex, until it closed in 1960.¹⁰¹

8. Kirkella Post Office

Although Kirkella was located along the C.P.R. mainline no station existed there until the building of the Pheasant Hills branchline in 1904. Mail service was established in Kirkella in spring of the same year. Storekeeper, Joseph Neilly became the first postmaster.¹⁰²

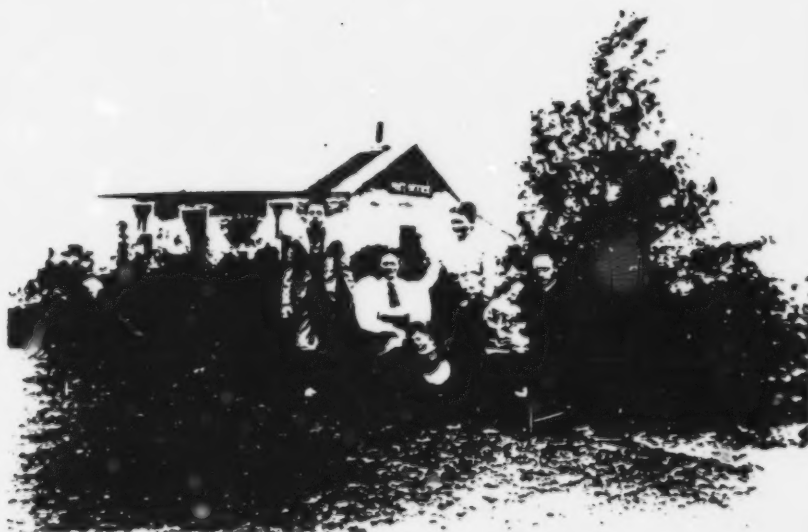
Early mail service was not particularly good since mail waited twenty-four hours to travel eastward. Citizens complained that a more "proper service would be to have north mail made up at Elkhorn".¹⁰³

The abandonment of the railway branchline in the 1960's did not effect Kirkella's post office. A post office still exists along Kirkella's main street.

9. Lippentott Post Office

Lippentott district was created by the influx of settlers from Ontario in 1882 to the area along Pipestone Creek in Township 10, Range 29, spreading into Range 30 (Saskatchewan). Since very few settlers located on the west bank of the creek, the post office was first opened on the east bank, on 6-11-29. This location was twelve miles (19.3 km) from Elkhorn, from where the district received its mail delivery weekly.

In 1895 a conflict erupted when an attempt was made to have the post office moved across the creek to Township 30. Until this time, the postmaster had been Thomas Clarke. David Simpson managed to acquire the position in 1896, and he moved the post office to 36-10-30. The struggle between Simpson and the Lund family, which constituted a major portion of the area's residents, over where the post office should be located, became so heated that in August 1899 a warrant was issued for Simpson's arrest for the beating of Blair Lund.¹⁰⁴ By 1900 the dispute had been settled, amicably or otherwise, and the post office remained in Saskatchewan, on the western bank of Pipestone Creek.



Rural Post Office near Virden, c. 1900. (Source: P.A.M.)



Former Virden Post Office, now an apartment block, 1985.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Elkhorn Post Office, 1967. Built in 1935. (Source: P.A.M.)



Elkhorn Post Office, 1985. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

10. Two Creeks Post Office

The first Two Creeks Post Office was opened in the home of Mrs. Thomas Cripps. In 1900 the post office moved to the Wm. Morton home on 6-13-26. The coming of the railway in 1913 caused the post office to be moved south to Two Creeks station on NW19-12-26. It was situated in the general store until a fire destroyed it in 1956. Henceforth postal service was through Harmsworth Post Office.

D. Schools

1. Arawana School District #917

Arawana School District was formed 7 July 1897, and was first known as Ebor. The name was changed by the municipality shortly afterward. Although its boundaries were adjusted from time to time, the nucleus of the school district consisted of three rows of sections in the western half of Township 10, Range 28, and the most eastern row of sections in Township 10, Range 29.

The frame school building was erected on the S1/2 19-10-28, along the present Maryfield road. The contractor was John Hume of Virden, who received \$328 for his labour. Construction materials cost an additional \$220. The school opened in fall 1897.¹⁰⁰

A cyclone through the area in 1900 damaged the school, moving it the width of its foundation.

Arawana School closed in June 1966, following the dissolution of the school district by a board of arbitration in February 1966. According to its decision, parts of the district were consolidated with Elkhorn, Kola, Virden, and Sanderson districts.

The school building remained on site as a picnic and camping area, maintained by the Arawana Ladies Club. In 1981 after repeated vandalism, the project was abandoned. The school is currently in a state of disrepair.

2. Bosshill School District #430

The ratepayers of Township 10, Range 27 petitioned the municipality to establish a school district there in July 1885. The district was formed 23 October 1885 and named Bosshill after the prominent rise located nearby. In spite of boundary adjustments necessitated by the establishment of new school districts to the north, Bosshill basically consisted of all of Township 10, Range 27.

The first school was a shanty moved from SE6-10-27, the homestead of W.J.McIntosh, to SW15-10-27, in 1886. School opened there in October 1886. A new building was erected next to the shanty in 1887.

In spring 1961 the old Bosshill School was replaced by a new structure, purchased in Cromer and moved to SW15-10-27. The old school was moved away by Dave Coulter Sr. to serve as a workshop on his farm.

The formation of larger school units in 1965 led to the permanent closure of Bosshill School in June 1965. The school building and property were purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Laurent who converted it into a dwelling.

3. Burnbank School District #789

This district was formed 27 January 1894 as a union school district. It consisted of sections 20-36 in Township 12, Range 28 in Wallace municipality, and the southern row of sections in Township 13, Range 28 in Archie municipality.

A frame school was built on SE34-12-28 on the south bank of Burnbank Creek, on land purchased from Hugh Drake. A plaque marks the site today.

The school apparently did not open until 1901. In 1949 the district spent \$2000 to make additions and repairs to the building.¹⁰⁴

The district was dissolved in April 1964, and amalgamated with Elkhorn, Parkland, Reaper, and York to form the Consolidated School District of Elkhorn. The school was purchased by Mr. Pelechaty and moved to NE18-12-27 to serve as a garage.

4. Buckingham School District #604

In July 1889, twelve ratepayers, including W.F. Buckingham, petitioned the municipality of Wallace to establish a correction line school on SE2-11-26.¹⁰⁷ The district, formally established in August 1889, consisted of

the northern row of sections in Township 10, Range 28, and sections 1-17 in Township 11, Range 28.

A frame school was built shortly afterward on NW3-11-28. After the building of Parkland School three miles (4.8 km) west of this site in 1927, the decision was made to move Buckingham School to SE8-11-28.

In July 1965 Buckingham School District was consolidated with Elkhorn, and the school building and property were sold. A cairn was erected by the community on NW3-11-28 in 1984 to identify the first location of Buckingham School.

5. Elkhorn School District #366

Elkhorn School District was formed 5 May 1885. The first school was a frame building constructed by John Hume. Today this structure is occupied by the Stonehouse Insurance firm, and is situated on Lot 10, Block 28 on Foxford Avenue.

An increase in population required the school board to erect a more substantial building. The first school was sold to John Angus for \$350 in 1892.¹⁰⁰

A new stone school was erected on the north side of town (present day Parcel "A") along Maharg Avenue, by Joseph Williamson, at a cost of \$2400. It opened 14 November 1892. The school was described as a stone building with "two well-ventilated well-heated rooms with plenty of light." Its interior was of stained varnished pine. The building

"reflected credit not only on the builders but on the town."¹⁰⁹

By 1894 the school, having been built for 66 students, was overcrowded with a pupil count of 132. The old frame schoolhouse was temporarily rented from John Angus for use as a primary schoolroom. John Hume was hired in 1895 to construct an addition to the school. The addition was a duplicate of the first two rooms. The total cost was \$2000.¹¹⁰

The intermediate schoolyard was beautified in spring 1904 by the planting of 100 maple, poplar, elm, ash, Russian and French laurels, and Russian Golden trees, plus 100 smaller mixed varieties, and 40 spruce trees.¹¹¹

The school board in 1910 purchased an additional ten lots next to the intermediate schoolyard, on which to build a modern six-room school for \$20,000. The tender was given to Talmay and Brocklebank of Melville. Before the building was constructed, the board was forced by student increases to change the plan to an eight-room design. This necessitated the borrowing of an additional \$8000.¹¹²

The new brick school opened 29 March 1911. It contained five classrooms, a chemistry laboratory, and an auditorium. Renovated in 1950, with an improved heating, ventilating, and plumbing system, at a cost of \$10,000, the school was so overcrowded by 1956 that it housed 220 pupils in eight classrooms, without an auditorium or chemistry laboratory. It was estimated that \$3000 per year had been spent during

the preceding five years to keep it repaired and renovated. The school had never possessed a fire escape from the top floor, nor was there an outlet from the basement, where a classroom had, by necessity, been established.¹¹³

In an effort to relieve the overcrowded conditions, the school board began to make plans to build either an addition to the old school, or to construct a separate high school nearby. Temporary classrooms, and staggered classes were utilized while ratepayers reached the decision to build a new four-classroom high school. It would contain a laboratory and a multi-purpose room, rather than a gymnasium.

The contract for the building, designed by Smith, Carter, Katenik of Winnipeg, was given to V.J. Sigurdson and Son of Brandon for \$73,900.¹¹⁴ The school opened 3 March 1959. By that time, Elkhorn had become part of Fort La Bosse School Division, which assumed responsibility for the cost of the collegiate.

The old stone elementary school was converted for use as a courthouse after 1911. It was still standing in 1924 but was later dismantled.¹¹⁵ The big brick school, with renovations, continued in use as an elementary school until 1976 when it was dismantled. This was possible because Fort La Bosse School Division had erected a new school to house grades kindergarten to eight, beside the high school. This building opened 20 January 1976.

Attempts by Fort La Bosse School Division to close Elkhorn Collegiate in 1979 met with serious opposition from Elkhorn parents who refused to allow their children to be bused to Virden. The high school remains open in Elkhorn.

6. Hargrave School District #482

This district was formed in November 1886 and originally consisted of almost all sections in Township 11, Range 27. It later included some northern sections of Township 10, Range 27.

The frame school building was erected in spring 1887 on SE17-11-27. In 1900 Hargrave School was moved from this site to NW11-11-27, closer to the village which was developing around the C.P.R. station on SW14-11-27.¹¹⁴

The structure was damaged by a cyclone in 1900. Perhaps it was this incident that convinced the school board to erect a brick school in September 1909. The new building, 40x48 feet (12x14.6 m) with a basement, was located on the south side of the railway tracks.¹¹⁷

Hargrave School was closed in June 1968 and the district was consolidated with Virden. The building remains on site as a recreation centre for the small community of Hargrave.

7. Joslin School District #499

As early as 1885 residents of Township 12, Range 26 were petitioning for a school district to be created out of

Township 12, Range 26, with a school on SE16-12-26. The name chosen was Prairie School District. The Department of Education determined that the petition did not accurately reflect the opinion of all the residents in the area so they recommended that no action be taken on the petition.¹¹⁸

A district was finally created 6 April 1887 out of sections 1-24, Township 12, Range 26. A different name had to be chosen, however, since another Prairie School District had been formed in the meantime. The district was consequently named Joslin after an early pioneer.

Boundary disputes involving Joslin, Montgomery, and Ross districts continued until November 1887. By that time Joslin school had been nearly completed on the south boundary of 16-12-26. Restructuring of the district included the addition of sections 31-36 in Township 11, Range 26, but the loss of sections 19-24 in Township 12, Range 26, to Ross district. This decision rendered the present location of Joslin School too far north to serve the district properly. The building had to be moved to 3-12-26.¹¹⁹

The first school building was of stone, which must have made its removal extremely difficult. In 1912 the old stone school was demolished and replaced by a frame schoolhouse. A basement was placed under the school in the summer of 1925.¹²⁰

When Joslin district consolidated with Virden in January 1965, the school building was purchased by Don Collier and renamed Foresters Hall. It functioned

successfully as a hall into the 1970's. Sometime later it was either removed or demolished. Today a cairn marks the former location of the school.

8. Kirkella School District #1270

Kirkella School District was formed 5 February 1904 out of sections 13-36 in Township 12, Range 29, as well as a few sections of Township 12, Range 28.

A one-room frame school was erected in the townsite of Kirkella, south of the railway tracks, on Main Street. When the district was consolidated with Elkhorn in January 1965, the building was sold and converted into a private residence. Today it is owned by Cliff Shepherd.¹²¹

9. Kola School District # 601

Kola School District was created by the Protestant Board of Education 7 August 1889, out of sections 14-35 in Township 10, Range 29. The first schoolhouse was located near the southeastern corner of SE28-10-29, and was probably built in 1890.

The 1900 cyclone completely destroyed the frame school. Construction of a new school on the same site utilized as much of the old materials as possible. The new structure was 20x26 feet (6x8 m) with eight-foot (2.4 m) high walls, on a stone foundation. An adjoining porch was 6x8 feet (1.8x2.4 m). The entire building was covered with brick veneer. While

this new school was under construction, classes were held in the old meeting house on Wesley Lund's farm.¹²²

A defective chimney caused the destruction by fire of the second school in 1946. The fate of the first two schools possibly caused the ratepayers to become superstitious about the location. The third building was located on NW22-10-29. It was completed in 1947 by contractors Stacey and France of Virden.

Bad luck continued to plague the school at its new location. Having just expended a great deal of money to install a new heating system and to renovate the school interior in the summer of 1956, the board was horrified by the school's destruction by fire in January 1957. Temporary accommodations were found for the thirteen students in neighboring schools: Woodville, Arawana, Butler, and Maryfield, although they were already filled to capacity. The school board did not immediately use the \$7100 it received in insurance money to rebuild the school.¹²³

With the influx of new Mennonite settlers to the area in the 1960's, a full-fledged community developed in Kola an urgent need for academic services. A school was erected one mile (1.6 m) north of the present site.

Unlike the other rural school districts in Wallace, Kola School District was not swallowed up by consolidation with either Virden or Elkhorn. Instead, it increased in size and the ratepayers fought to keep their school when the district entered Fort La Bosse School Division in 1971.

The one-room school had become too small. A new multi-room school with an all-steel construction was erected in the townsite in 1977.

10. Montgomery School District # 357

Montgomery School District was established 5 January 1885. The first school was a frame building on the farm of William Montgomery, SW22-11-26. When Joslin district was formed to its north, some readjustment of Montgomery's boundaries took place. The district was left with parts of sections 9-14, and all of sections 15-30 in Township 11, Range 26. At one point it was thought that the changes would involve the moving of Montgomery school. The ratepayers resisted such a possibility, informing the Department of Education that Montgomery School "is backplastered instead of being tarpapered and will not move well".¹²⁴ In the end it was Joslin School that was relocated.

A new brick schoolhouse replaced the frame school in 1912. When the school district consolidated with Virden in 1965, the brick building was taken over by the C.O.F. Court of Elms to serve as the Foresters' Hall. Today it is still used as a community centre and lodge hall. During the winter Wallace United Church uses the hall for church services.

11. Mossgiel School District #602

In spring 1889, T.C.Dahl led twelve other petitioners in requesting the municipality establish a school on SE4-12-

29, a central location for those in the north half of Township 11, Range 29, and the south half of Township 12, Range 29.¹²⁵

A school district was formed 7 August 1889. It was named MacGregor after Duncan MacGregor who had donated the land on SE4-12-29 for the school. A true Scotsman, MacGregor insisted the name be changed to Mossiel in honour of Robbie Burn's home in Scotland.

The original schoolhouse was 25x18 feet (7.6x5.4 m) with three windows on one side and two on the one end. At the other end of the building there was a porch and coal shed, with an attic above. The exterior was veneered with cream-coloured Virden brick. The interior had four-foot (1.2 m) high wainscotting with green plastered walls above. The floor was unpainted and uncoiled, and therefore very dusty. Heating was accomplished by a pot-bellied stove at one end of the room. In 1907 two smaller stoves replaced the original one.

Fire completely destroyed the Mossiel School on 13 November 1916. The school board received \$700 insurance money, and proceeded to hire A.E. Parsons to construct a new building for \$1880.

The second Mossiel School was 22x30 feet (6.7x9 m) with an 8x10 foot (2.4x3 m) porch and woodshed attached. It sat on a cement foundation and was covered with red brick veneer. A Waterbury heater, and later a Booker furnace, provided warmth until 1954 when an oil furnace was placed in

the basement. The cinder-walled basement had been completed by volunteer labor in 1950, at which time indoor toilets were installed.¹²⁶

In spite of the resistance of Mossgiel residents to consolidation, in 1965 Mossgiel School District amalgamated with Elkhorn. The little schoolhouse was closed. The land and buildings were sold to Dan Canart who moved the school to his farm east of Elkhorn, NW35-11-28. Today the building serves as a calf pen.

The original school site is marked by a commemorative cairn.

12. Pacific School District #749

Pacific School District was formed 1 April 1893 out of northeastern sections of Township 11, Range 26, and northern sections of Township 10, Range 27, all land located between Virden and Hargrave.

The contract for the new frame school was given to W.J. McClelland. The school, located on NE26-10-27, opened 7 August 1893.¹²⁷

The ratepayers held a meeting to discuss plans to build a new school in July 1926.¹²⁸ It is probable that they carried through with their plans because when the school district was consolidated with Virden in January 1965, the school building was in good enough condition to warrant its removal to Virden. The building was placed on Lot 5, Block 2, Plan No. 2004 to serve as a Junior Rifle Club clubhouse.

Today it is a meeting place for local Boy Scout organizations.

A commemorative plaque was placed at the former site of Pacific school.

13. Parkland School District #2197

Parkland School District was formed 6 March 1929 out of lands in the northern part of Township 10, ranges 27 and 28, and the southern part of Township 11, ranges 27 and 28. Before its formation, area children often travelled as much as five miles (8 km) to attend either Pacific, Buckingham or Springvale schools.

The one-room frame school with a full-sized basement was built by Waterbury and Waterbury of Regina on SW6-11-27, on land purchased from Ralph Stevenson.¹²⁹

In 1958 declining enrollment resulted in the closing of the school. The district was not dissolved, however, until July 1964, when it was consolidated with Elkhorn. The school building was later purchased by Frank George and in 1973 it was moved to an unknown location.

14. Plainview Colony School

A Hutterite colony was established in the Mossquiell district in 1969 on 5-12-29, land purchased from Dan Canart. The colony opened a school in the church in 1972. With the increase in size and population, the colony built a new modern school which is in use at the present time.

15. Reaper School District #1089

Reaper School District was formed 15 March 1900 by the municipality out of lands in northwestern Township 11, Range 27, and northeastern Township 11, Range 28, located between Elkhorn and Hargrave.

A frame school was erected on NE19-11-27. By 1927 Reaper school did not have a high enough enrollment to warrant keeping it open. Thereafter the children from the district were transported to Elkhorn. The district was formally consolidated with Elkhorn in 1964.

16. Ross Consolidated School District # 1782

Ross School District #504 was formed 13 May 1887. A frame school was built by George Cole in 1888 on SE33-12-26, the property of Wendel Sararas. The district was named after a town in Herefordshire England, where many of the pioneers of the Two Creeks area originated. The district contained all the northeastern sections of Township 12, Range 26.

The school building was moved one mile (1.6 km) west to SE32-12-26 in approximately 1891.

A union school district was created in April 1915 of lands in northwestern Township 12, ranges 26 and 27, and the southeastern sections of Township 13, Range 27, the latter being in Miniota municipality. The school district was named Kyle #1782. It was created with the understanding that it

would immediately consolidate with Ross School District to form Ross Consolidated School District #1782.

The new consolidated district consisted of sections 17-36 in Township 12, Range 26, five sections in Township 12, Range 27, and seventeen sections in Miniota municipality.

A large two-storey brick school was built in 1915 at the C.P.R. siding called Two Creeks, on NW19-12-26, where a small hamlet was developing. The school was closed in June 1966 when the school district was amalgamated with Virden. The building remains on site.

17. Springvale School District #1205

This district was established by the municipality 15 May 1902. It consisted of one row of western sections in Township 10, Range 27, and thirteen and a half sections in Township 10, Range 28. Before the formation of Springvale district children from this region attended Bosshill School, but this involved the crossing of two creeks which were unbridged. In springtime, the absence of good roads, and the presence of the swollen creeks made it necessary for the children to take a round about route to reach their school.

Springvale School was built on NE14-10-28, on land donated by J.W.Young. This site was chosen because it was the meeting place of two ravines, insinuating that it would possess a readily available water supply. Ironically, the school board spent fifty-seven years searching for a satisfactory water supply.

The schoolhouse was constructed by volunteer labour, supervised by James McGill, at a cost of \$500. Various heating systems were employed throughout the years, ending with the installation of a forced-air furnace in 1952. A porch was added to the west end of the school in 1917 to serve as a coal storage area and cloakroom.¹³⁰

In 1921 the decision was made to enlarge the school to meet the growing demands of the district. The building was placed on a full-sized basement and widened. A new cottage-style roof was constructed. Further modifications, valued at \$800, were completed in 1927.¹³¹

Springvale School District was consolidated with Virden in January 1966. The Springvale Women's Institute took possession of the former school and maintained it as a community centre. It is presently in need of repair.

18. Victor School District #949

The municipality formed Victor School District 1 March 1898 out of sections 33-36 in Township 11, Range 27, and sections 1-16 in Township 12, Range 27.

Since 1882, when the first settlers reached the region the children had attended Hargrave School. A community centre in which religious and social services could be held, became essential for the settlers, however. In 1898 they borrowed \$700 to build a school which could serve a dual purpose. A contractor from Virden erected the frame building on SE10-12-27.¹³²

In 1965, the district was dissolved and its territory divided between Virden and Elkhorn. Orville Duffield purchased the school building and dismantled it. He used the materials to enlarge his farmhouse. The school grounds are now a cultivated field, but a marker designates the former school site.

19. Woodville School District #599

Woodville School District was created 7 August 1889 out of sections 1-24, Township 11, Range 29, and named after William Wood, an early pioneer of the district.

The frame schoolhouse was completed on SE16-11-29 by Laverne Reid in spring 1890. Through the years the building was renovated to include indoor plumbing and oil heating.

Declining enrollment was responsible for the school's closure in June 1970. Formal consolidation of the district with Elkhorn did not occur until May 1971. Then the contents of the school were relocated in Elkhorn School. The building and land were sold to Ralph Rowan who moved the building to his property two miles (3.2 km) west of Elkhorn.¹³³

20. Virden School District # 1783

The first settlers around Virden were well educated, and were anxious to offer their children the same advantage. As early as summer 1883 a private school was operating in the village. A school district was formally organized 21 June 1883 by the Protestant Education Board. The district

originally consisted of all of Township 10, Range 26. Taxes were levied on those living within a three to four mile (4-6 km) radius of Virden. Non-resident fees were collected by the teacher from those students living beyond this limit. Eventually much of this rural territory was carved up to create rural school districts.

a. First School

The first school classes for Virden School District were held in the Presbyterian church manse, and later in the Methodist parsonage on Raglan Street. In September 1885 the Superintendent of Education for Manitoba visited Virden and agreed to loan the school board money to build a schoolhouse. The school board acquired lots 17-20, Block 118 as a gift from the Canada Northwest Land Company. Here a two-room frame school was opened 2 August 1886, with an enrollment of forty pupils. Unfortunately the building was destroyed by fire 4 March 1887 while classes were in session. Fortunately no one was hurt, but the loss was valued at \$1500 with only \$1000 covered by insurance.¹³⁴

b. The "Little Stone School"

To construct a new school, \$600 had to be borrowed, and a greater effort had to be made to collect the levied school taxes, of which approximately only one-third was collected during the first three years of the school district's existence. Non-residential fees were even more difficult to

collect. A ruling was made to collect "from those who can't pay five cents per week, and for those who can pay, 25 cents per week".¹³⁵

The new school was to be a flat stone building, 25x65 feet (7.6x19.8 m), built to accommodate 160 students and two teachers. The latter would entitle the school board to receive an extra \$200 per year from the Department of Education.¹³⁶ The contract for stonework was given to Mr. Bennett who had already built a stone store in Virden.¹³⁷ The little stone school was so well constructed that long after the school population outgrew it, it served as an overflow area, and an industrial classroom.

The little stone schoolhouse served the community faithfully until September 1949 when its condition had deteriorated to the point that it was condemned. F.A. France Construction Company of Virden was hired to modernize the building for use as Virden Technical Arts School, where boys' shopwork and girls' homemaking courses were to be held.¹³⁸

The stonework was covered with stucco and a new "flat roof replaced the familiar peaked one. To all intents and purposes it is a new building", praised the Virden Empire Advance.¹³⁹ Additions to Virden Collegiate rendered the building redundant. In the 1970's it was converted into offices for the Fort La Bosse School Division, a purpose it still serves.

c. Second Stone School

By 1889 the rapidly increasing population of Virden dictated the need for even larger educational facilities. The school board purchased the adjoining eight lots of Block 11B for \$160. By 1892, with an extra classroom operating in a frame building on Wellington Street, the school board debated whether to build an addition to the existing school for \$5000, or to build an entirely new structure for \$8000. Either way it was necessary to expand to six classrooms.¹⁴⁰

Architect Chesterton of Winnipeg presented the school board with two plans: one to build, one to extend. Both plans provided for six classrooms, a belfry, and a seventy-foot (21 m) tower and entrance on Wellington Street. Ratepayers voted \$6700 for the new school and left the decision concerning which plan to adopt entirely up to board members.¹⁴¹

In September 1892 the contract for a separate school building was given to J.A.Saul for \$5000. The school entrance was to be located next to the little stone school but facing Ninth Avenue. The structure was to be 34x65 feet (10x20 m), two stories high, with two classrooms upstairs and two downstairs, each 25x28 feet (7.6x8.5 m) with 12 foot (3.6 m) ceilings. A ten-foot (3 m) hall, containing a stairway and cloakrooms, would run through the building. The cornerstone of the new school was laid by the Masonic Lodge 16 August 1892. The total cost of the building was \$8500.¹⁴²

From the very beginning there were omens of the misfortune which was to befall the school. First, the contractor did not complete the building on time. The school trustees themselves finally completed the structure. Next, it became necessary to replace the totally inadequate furnace. Worst of all, by 1897 the wall facing Queen Street began to show unmistakable signs of bulging. Many parents, fearing for the safety of their children, refused to allow them to attend classes.¹⁴³

An architect, S. Frank Peters of Winnipeg, was hired to inspect and report on the condition of the building. In December 1897 he reported that the footings were

too light for such a weight as they have to carry, and the stone walls throughout have been constructed in a most inferior and unworkmanlike manner...Another serious defect is the almost entire neglect of joists with the result that they are bulging outwards, particularly the end wall to the right on entering the building. This wall I consider to be in a positively dangerous condition and should be secured at once by bracing with strong timbers on the outside.¹⁴⁴

Peters recommended that the entire wall be torn down and rebuilt during the summer. In so doing the floor and attic joists were to be anchored with strong iron bars four feet (1.2 m) apart.

J.H. Schmidt was hired to put in strong iron rods from end to end of the building, firmly clamping them on the outside. In this condition the school continued in use until 1905. By this time, with the formation of a consolidated

school district, the stone school was inadequate anyway. It was replaced by a new eight-room brick school.

The old building was used as an immigration hall until around 1920. Briefly it was used as a mushroom farm. After 1934 it was a storage area for B.P.Kent Flour Mill. F.A.France used it as an equipment storage shed until fall 1956, when earlier predictions came true and the rear wall collapsed. Demolition was therefore carried out in April 1957 by F.A.France.¹⁴⁵

d. Virden Public School / Mary Montgomery School

By 1900 the demand for secondary education was very strong in the district. In 1901 high school classes were added to the already overcrowded second stone school. A new school, built in 1905 was intended to serve as both a public and high school.

The new two-storey, eight-room, white brick school was situated on lots 1-11, 29-40, Block 130, facing Ninth Avenue, between Lyons and Seymour streets. The cost of construction was \$30,000. The building became the home of the first consolidated school district in Manitoba.

The school population continued to grow, forcing the school board to construct a separate high school in 1910. The white brick school remained adequate as an elementary school, however, until the oil boom of the 1950's. A new ten-room elementary school was built at another site in 1956. The brick school then served as a junior high school.

In 1963 the public school was renamed Marv Montgomery School in honour of a dedicated school teacher who had served Virden for forty years. Further influxes in school populations were caused by the closing of the rural schools in Wallace. In 1967 extensive renovations were made to Marv Montgomery School at a cost of \$40,000.¹⁴⁴ The building was converted into a primary school, a purpose it still serves.

More information on Virden Public School appears in Chapter IV: Identification of Potential Heritage Resources within Virden-Wallace Planning District.

e. Virden Collegiate Institute

Virden began its secondary education program in 1901. It was faced with an influx of additional students after the formation of a consolidated school district in 1905. This created a need for a separate high school building.

Virden Collegiate, situated on Block 92, at the intersection of Eighth Avenue, Kent Avenue, and the Government Road Allowance, was constructed by W.T.Manser of Virden in 1910. The structure cost \$23,000 and was officially opened in April 1911.

The two-storey, eight-room school of white brick contained four classrooms, a library, a well-equipped laboratory, and an assembly room with a seating capacity of 250. When it opened, the school had four staff members and 100 students. Most of these were preparing for teacher's

certificates as a stepping stone to some other profession.¹⁴⁷

The creation of Fort La Bosse School Division in 1959 concentrated high school facilities in Virden and Elkhorn. An addition to Virden High School became mandatory. Enlargement of the facility was undertaken by contractor V.J.Sigurdson and Son of Brandon in 1961. The addition was designed by Smith, Carter, Searle and Associates of Winnipeg. The construction cost was \$285,000.¹⁴⁸

A six-classroom size auditorium provided much needed space for school assemblies, physical training classes, and social functions. Eight classrooms and two science laboratories provided extra student accommodation.

The framework of the building is structural steel. Walls are concrete blocks, fully insulated and finished on the outside with painted surfaces or bricks. Floors are reinforced concrete slabs covered with decorative floor tile.¹⁴⁹

When the addition was formally opened 3 May 1962, the Virden Empire Advance reported:

Architecturally the new addition does not blend with the old building which was constructed fifty-two years ago. However the new design and the old have been integrated to form a solid functional unit that embraces the austere lines of modern design and the more graceful less functional lines of the old collegiate building...¹⁵⁰

A second addition was necessary in 1966-67, and completed at a cost of \$400,000. The resultant mixture of

old and new architecture now fills the triangle set aside for the high school in 1911.

f. H.H. Goulter School

The oil boom of the 1950's brought with it a corresponding increase in the school population. The public school, built in 1905, was now totally inadequate to handle both primary and elementary grades. A decision was made to build a school for intermediate grades at a new location. Land was acquired from the Agricultural Society grounds, requiring the relocation of the race track.

The new school was erected on lots 1-30, Block 47. Today this location is bordered by Lyons Street, Third Avenue, and Seymour Street. When it opened, the school contained ten classrooms and a large auditorium. The floors were of reinforced slab concrete with terrazo tiles in the halls and asphalt tile elsewhere. The auditorium walls were of stained plywood with white plaster above. The school was heated with a forced air system.¹⁵¹

The school opened 3 January 1957, with grades five to nine transferred there from the two overflowing elementary schools in Virden. The building was named after Mrs. H.H. Goulter, the wife of a local barrister, because of her continuing efforts to promote education in Virden.¹⁵²

With the opening of Goulter School, Virden had twenty-six classrooms, in four buildings, to house a school

population of 694 students. Further increases lay on the horizon, however.

Today Goulter School contains grades four to seven, plus a grade one class to facilitate primary students located far from Mary Montgomery School, across the railway tracks.

g. Virden Junior High School

When consolidation of the surrounding rural school districts with Virden became imminent in 1964, the Virden school board purchased Block 135, bounded by Ninth and Tenth avenues, Princess Street, and Scallion Creek, for \$500. Here they made plans to erect a junior high school

On 19 May 1965 the ratepayers voted to spend \$172,000 to build the new school. The ultra-modern building was designed by architects Pratt, Lindgren, and Associates of Winnipeg. It opened in 1966, by which time consolidation with most rural districts had taken place.

21. York School District #1783

This school district was established northeast of Elkhorn, 20 March 1915 but a school building was never erected. Instead the school board decided to make arrangements to bus the children to Elkhorn. Formal consolidation of York with Elkhorn occurred 1 July 1964.

22. Virden Normal School

Virden Normal School opened in January 1891 under the direction of Inspector T.E.Lang. The teacher-training course lasted for ten weeks, from January to mid-March. It prepared teachers with third class certificates. During the first two sessions the classes were held in B. Meek's hall above his store, on the corner of Seventh Avenue and Nelson, property later occupied by the Bank of Commerce. A new unknown location was used for the last session. The final session, held in 1893, was only allowed after the school board exerted a great deal of pressure on the Department of Education who wanted to move the courses to a more northerly location at Birtle. Despite protests, the classes were moved to either Birtle or Brandon for the January 1895 session.¹⁸³

During the time that the school operated the enrollment grew from twenty-one students in the first year to over thirty in the subsequent years.¹⁸⁴ The students were instructed in the best teaching methods for school subjects, and practised teaching under the direction of Inspector Lang.

E. Churches

The first religious services held in Wallace were conducted by a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Finlay McLeod. He preached to railway construction crews and to settlers encamped around Cobb's tent on Gopher Creek. McLeod later homesteaded 20-10-25. in the Assiniboine Valley.



Arawana School, S¹ 19-10-28, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



Bosshill School, SW15-10-27, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



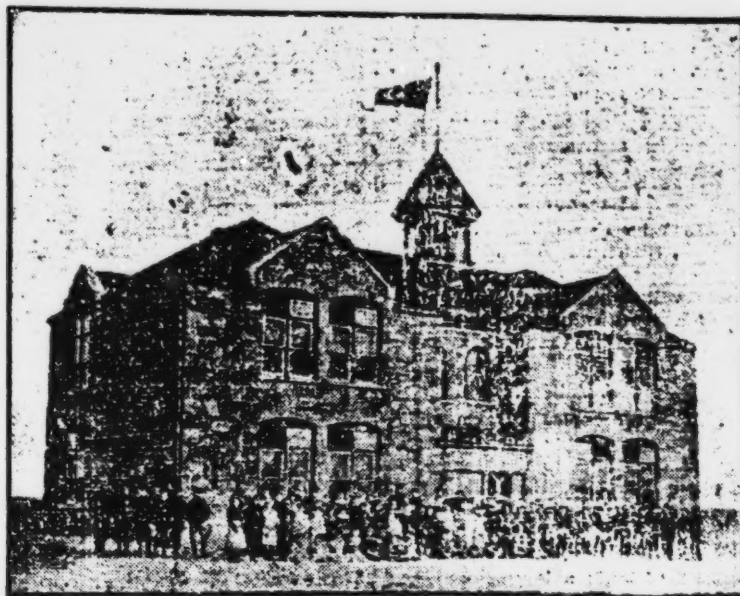
Buckingham School, SE8-11-28, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



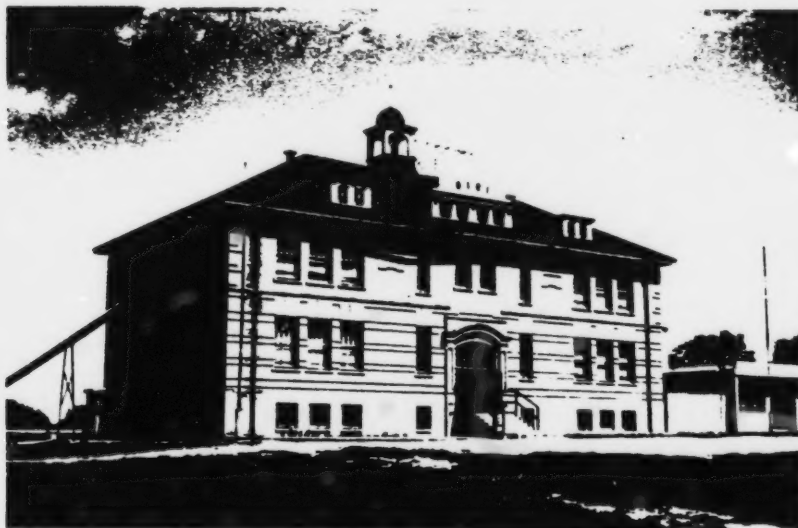
Buckingham School, SE8-11-28, c. 1930, after remodelling. (Source: P.A.M.)



Burnbank School, SE34-12-28, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



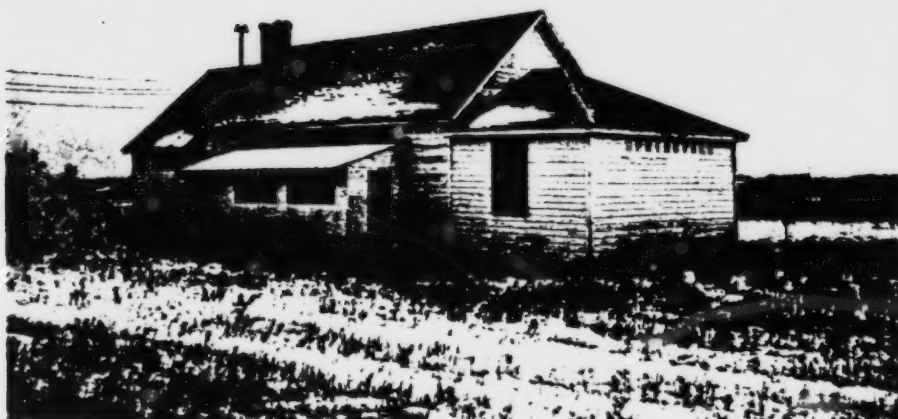
Elkhorn Intermediate School, 1901. (Source: Manitoba Free Press, 28 June 1901, p. 17.)



Elkhorn Public School, 1967. Built in 1910 and demolished in 1976. (Source: P.A.M.)



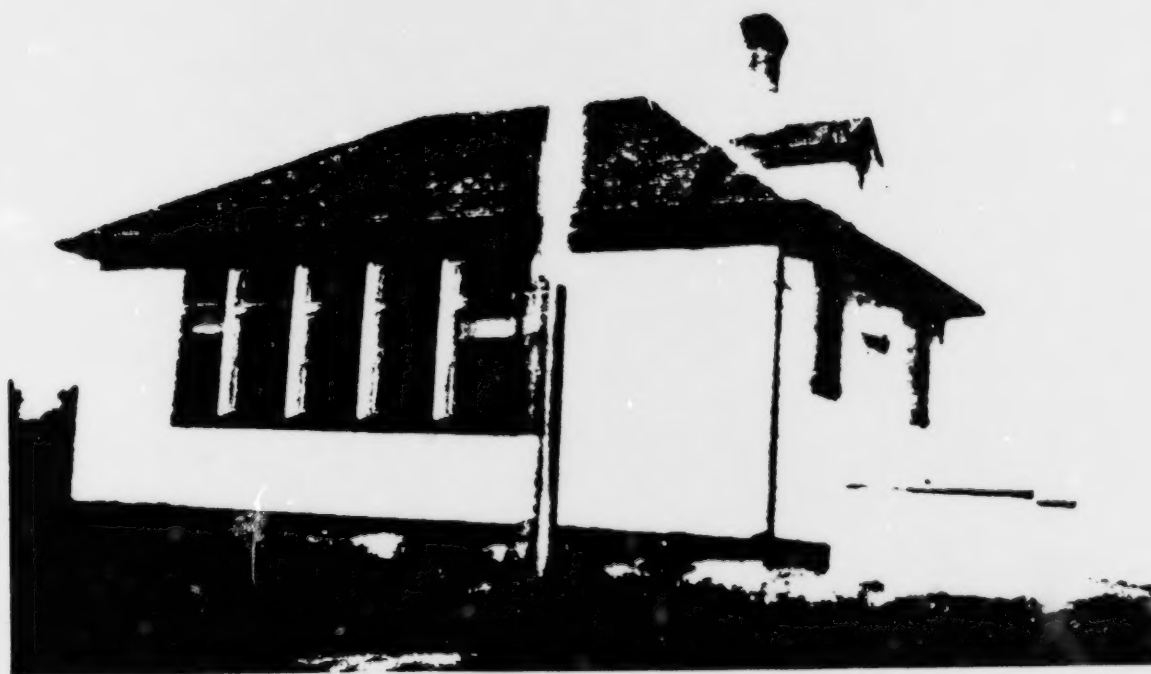
Hargrave School, NW11-11-27, c. 1910. (Source: P.A.M.)



Springvale School, NE 14-10-28W 1985 (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Hargrave School, 1985, now serving as a community centre. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



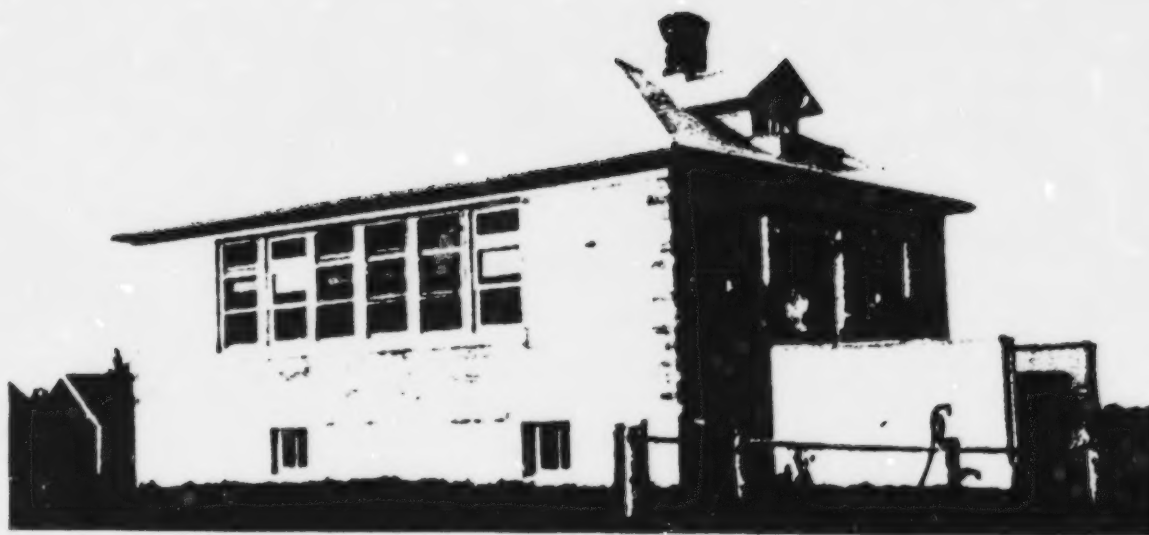
Joslin School, NW3-12-26, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



Kirkella School, SE23-12-29, c. 1930 (Source: P.A.M.)



Second Kola School, SE 28-10-29, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



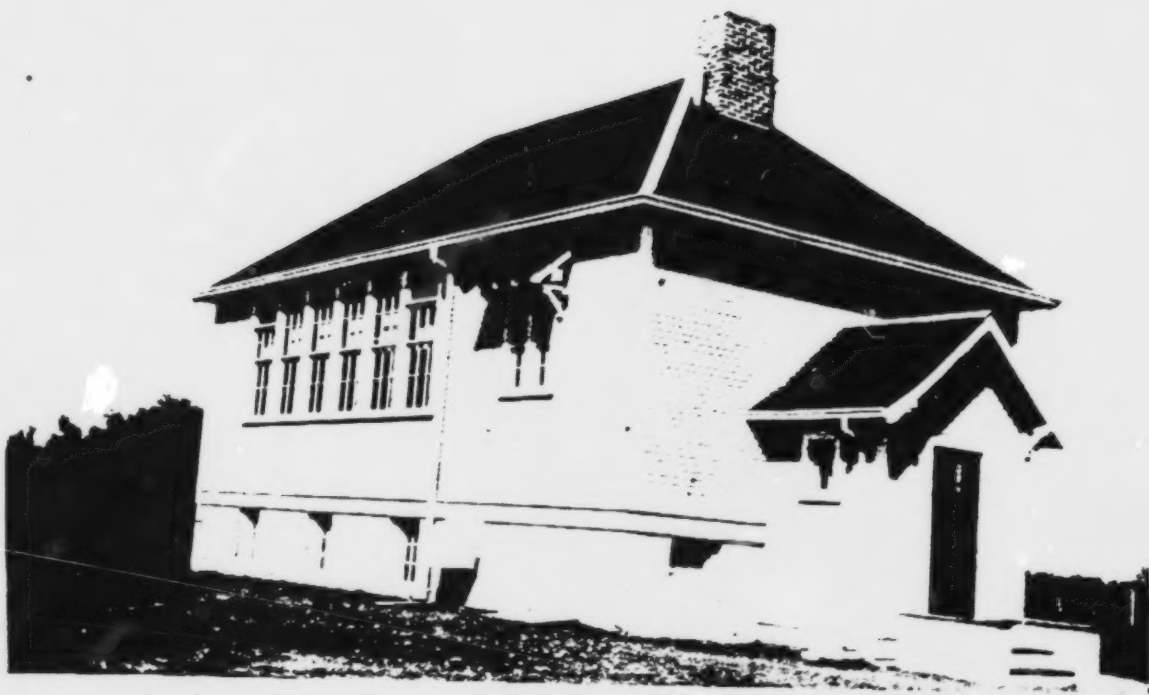
Montgomery School, SW22-11-26, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



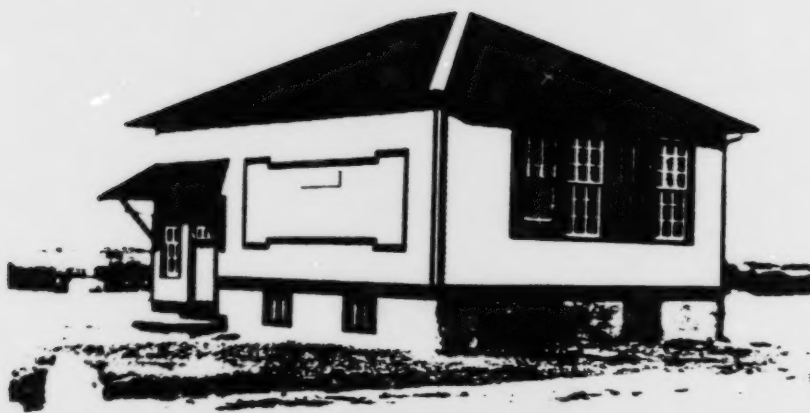
Forester's Hall, SW 22-11-26, 1985. Formerly Montgomery School.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



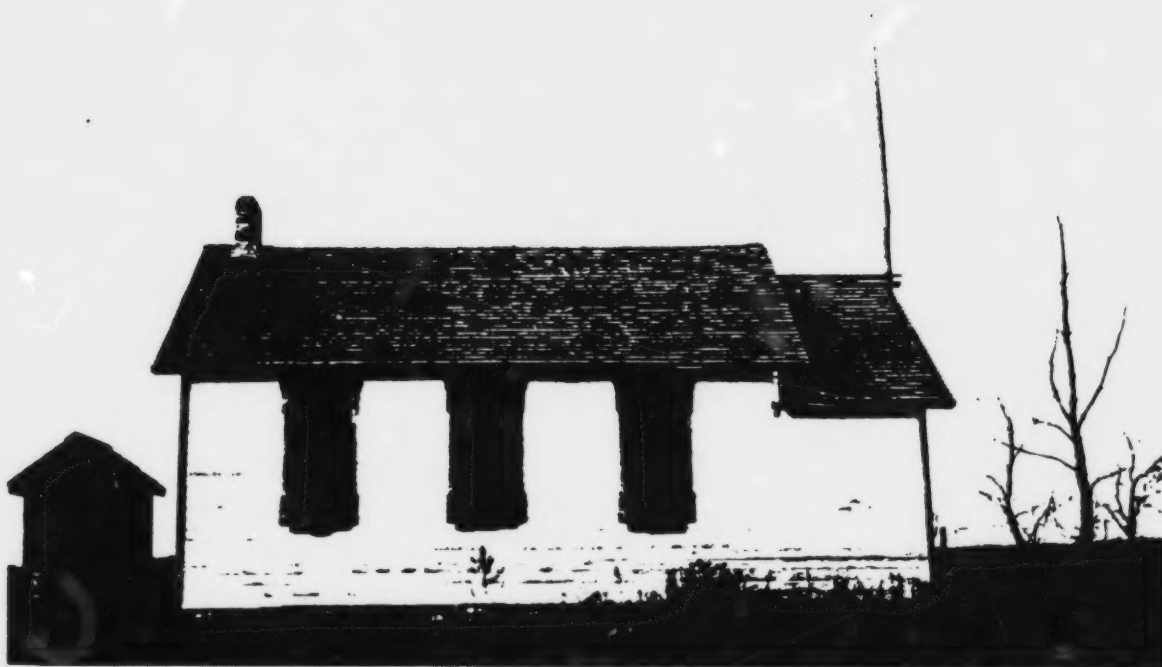
Mossziel School, SE 4-12-29, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



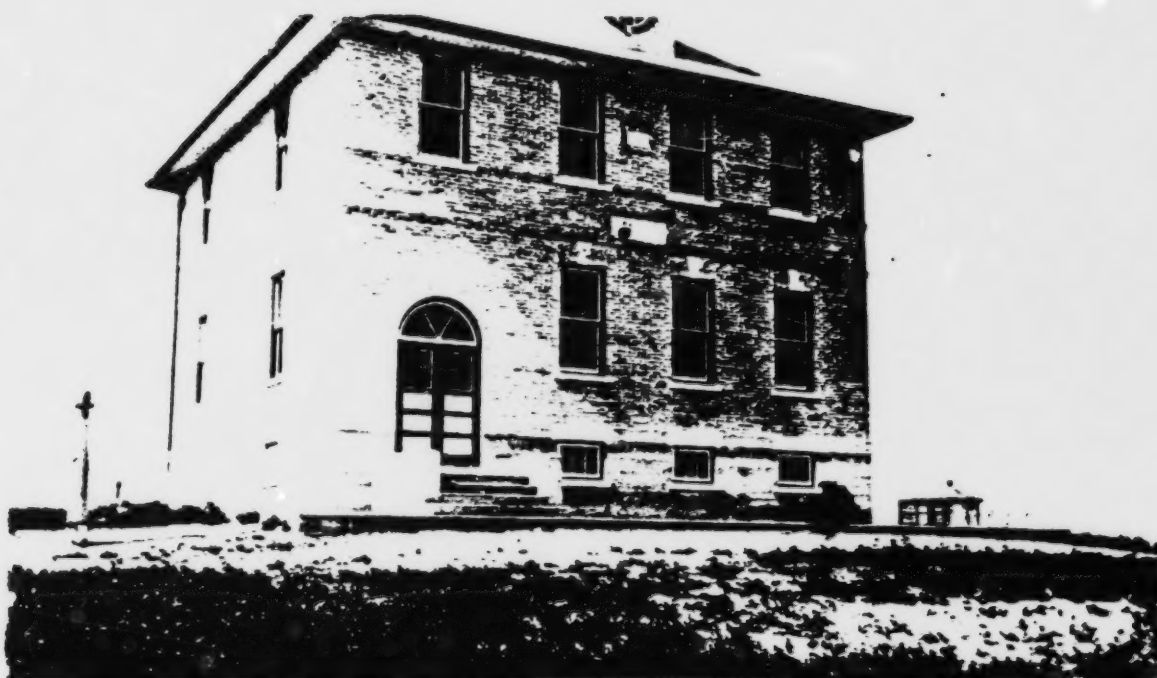
Pacific School, NE26-10-27, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



Parkland School, SW6-11-27, c. 1930 (Source: P.A.M.)



Reaper School, NE19-11-27 c. 1930. It was closed in 1927. (Source: P.A.M.)



Ross School, NW19-12-26, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



Ross Consolidated School, NW19-12-26W, 1985 (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



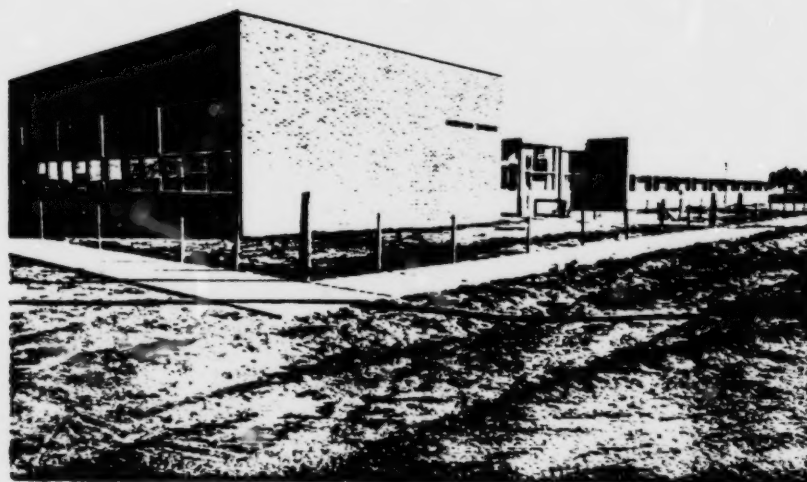
Springvale School, NE14-10-28, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



Victor School, SE10-12-27, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)



Former "Little Stone School," Virden, 1985. Built in 1887, the building served many academic purposes. Presently it serves as the offices of Fort La Bosse School Division. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Goulter School, Virden, 1956 (Source: P.A.M.)



Virden High School, 1985. The older portion was built in 1910 and has had many additions in the intervening years. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Woodville School, SE16-11-29, c. 1930. (Source: P.A.M.)

Thereafter he occasionally held services in boarding houses in Virden and Elkhorn.

In 1881 the Superintendent of Methodist Missions appointed Wellington Bridgeman to go to Western Manitoba, along the new railway line, to discover if there were any Methodists living there. Although there was a predominance of Anglicans and Presbyterians, Bridgeman also found enough Methodists to hold services in a "C.P.R. storehouse which had a good floor and canvas sides."¹⁵⁵

Besides these two early missionaries, students from St. John's College in Winnipeg also came to the region. They conducted Anglican services in the C.P.R. station, on special occasions. All three denominations were anxious to build proper facilities for worship. While the Presbyterians were delayed by a disagreement on whether to build a church or a church-manse, the Anglicans in Virden were the first to erect a formal church building. The first church in Wallace municipality, St. Mary's, opened 20 December 1885.

1. St. Mary's Anglican Church, Virden

A discussion of this building appears in Chapter IV: Identification of Potential Heritage Resources within Virden-Wallace Planning District.

2. Virден Methodist Church / St. Paul's United Church.

Virден

The first resident Methodist minister appointed to Virден was the Rev. T.B. Beynon. He held services in C.P.R. boxcars, the C.P.R. station, and later the hotel dining room. About 1883 the Methodists built a combination church-parsonage which was later sold to become the residence of Wm. McLean on Raglan Street. Besides serving as a church, the building was also used for one year as a school.¹⁵⁴

In October 1888 the Methodists began to build a small frame church close to the parsonage. Messrs. McLean and Mooney constructed the church for \$1200. The building was 26x60 feet (7.9x18 m), and contained "the largest audience room of any building in Virден". The church was officially opened 9 December 1888.¹⁵⁵

From the Presbyterians, in 1900, the Methodists purchased the property at the corner of Nelson Street and Eighth Avenue (lots 23-24, Block 102) on which the former Presbyterian church-manse sat. The house was sold to J.A. McLachlan who moved it to a lot behind the church to become a family residence.¹⁵⁶ On the now vacant lot, in 1901, the Methodists built the structure presently known as St. Paul's United Church. At the same time they purchased a new parsonage on Lyon Street. Probably the old church on Raglan Street was sold at this time as well but its fate is unknown.

After Church Union in 1925, the united congregation chose to occupy the Methodist church because it was larger and more suited to their needs. The increased size of the

congregation required the placing of a full basement under the building, and the reconstruction of the interior to create a larger auditorium.

Through the years memorial stained glass windows were installed in the church: two to the memory of participants in the two World Wars, four in memory of pioneer members of the congregation. The windows depict various religious scenes, ranging from St. John to the Nativity.

St. Paul's underwent an extensive renovation process under the direction of F.A. France and Company in 1951. Wood panelling was placed at the front of the church behind the choir, and all the woodwork within the church was refinished to match it.

A large addition to house Sunday School classrooms was proposed in 1957. This Christian Education Building was erected in 1959 and adjoins the sanctuary.

The original Methodist Church had a steeple on the southwest corner. This was found to be structurally unsound in 1962 and the upper peaked portion was removed. The remaining brick portion houses the speakers of a fifty bell Schulmeric Carillon.

St. Paul's remains today a fine blend of modern and old architecture.

3. Carmel Presbyterian Church, Virden

The first Presbyterian services were conducted in the area by the Reverend McLeod in 1882. After occupying various

temporary quarters, the Presbyterians hired George Burns to build a home for the minister on lots 23-24, Block 102 on Nelson Street, the present site of St. Paul's United Church. The cost of the building was \$350, subscribed by the congregation with a small grant from the Home Missions Board of the Presbyterian Church. The three downstairs' rooms were originally used for Sunday services. By 1887 the facilities were so overcrowded that the congregation began holding services in the townhall while they made plans to build a proper church.

Large quantities of stone were hauled by volunteers in late fall 1888. These were to be used for the foundation of the new building. Twenty cords of stone were already on the ground on lots 39-40, Block 133 on Wellington Street, when, in January 1889, the congregation finalized plans to build a \$3000 church to seat 250 people.¹³⁹

The contract was given to George Marshall in February 1890, and the church was officially opened 10 August 1890. The building was 70x38 feet (21.3x11.5 m), with 16 foot (4.8 m) high walls. At the west end two classrooms served as a Sunday School. The frame building had frosted and coloured glass windows.¹⁴⁰

In 1900 the building was entirely covered with white brick. A 50 foot (15 m) bell tower was added as well.¹⁴¹

The Presbyterian property on Nelson Street was sold to the Methodists in 1900. A new manse was built in 1904 at the corner of Tenth Avenue and Lacrosse Street. This house was

retained until 1949 as the residence of the United Church minister.

Ironically, on the Nelson Street property the Methodists erected a new church to which the Presbyterians would return in 1925 as part of the United Church congregation. To make room for this church the former Presbyterian church-manse was moved to an adjoining lot to become the residence of J.A. McLachlan.

The Presbyterian Church on Wellington Street was used only briefly after Church Union. Then it was sold to the Orange Lodge to serve as a hall. Later it became an Elks' hall, then a privately-owned dance hall during the 1970's. It was dismantled in 1985.

4. Salvation Army Hall, Virden

The Salvation Army held its first meeting in Wallace municipality in Foresters' Hall, Elkhorn in 1893. They were anxious to find a meeting place in Virden as well. In 1893 they offered to rent the old schoolhouse but it was needed as an extra classroom by the school board. By late 1894 the Salvation Army was holding meetings in the Methodist Church. The following year they engaged the former offices of the Virden Chronicle for use as a barracks. To furnish it, they held a "furniture meeting", to which each person attending brought an item of housekeeping to donate to the army officers.⁴⁴²

By 1915 the numbers involved in the Army's work had dropped so drastically that smaller quarters were sought across the tracks. The Army often held outdoor meetings and was very active among the needy, especially during the 1918 flu epidemic. The unit was withdrawn from Virden in 1935 when the provincial and municipal governments began to provide social welfare services.

5. Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, Virden

The religious congregations that established themselves early in Virden were able to take advantage of a North West Land Company offer of free land on which to erect a church. The Catholics, the earliest of which were W. Langlois, August and Peter Fontana, and Thomas Navlen, arrived too late to take advantage of the offer.¹⁴³

Mass was first held in the home of a Mrs. Caulfield, then in the C.P.R. section house, in the old schoolhouse, in the home of Peter Fontana, and finally in a hall in the Cain Block.¹⁴⁴ The nearest Catholic Church was St. Athanasius in Oak Lake, built in 1887. Priests from there, as well as from Brandon, served the Virden congregation until September 1930 when Virden separated from Oak Lake to become a separate mission containing Elkhorn, Lenore, Butler, and Virden.

In 1919 the Catholics in Virden made plans to construct a church on lots 15-18, Block 131, at the corner of Tenth Avenue and Queen Street. The small brick church opened 7 June 1921 with the blessings of the Archbishop of Winnipeg.

the Reverend A.A.Sinnott. The building had a seating capacity of 125, which was adequate until the 1950's, when the oil boom created a huge increase in the size of the congregation.¹⁴³

A building fund was established in 1953. The sod for the new 350 capacity church was turned 5 May 1957. The new church was designed by architects Pratt and Lindgren of Winnipeg. Construction was carried out by volunteer labour overseen by contractors A. Romanesuk and Mr. Zasowski. The actual cost of the building was \$42,500.¹⁴⁴

Red brick, white stone, and stucco were used for the building's exterior. The most unusual feature was the open tower surmounted by a huge cross, illuminated at nite. The interior finish of the chancel, the nave, the vestibule, and the choir loft featured detailed woodwork, with wood panelling on either side of the altar.

The little brick church was renovated to become a parish hall. A rectory on Lyon Street was sold in 1965 and a new one erected next to the parish hall.

6. Viriden Pentecostal Assembly

The first Pentecostal services in Viriden were held in the home of Mrs. Fibbs in the Terrace on Queen Street, in 1926. A hall was rented above the present Robinson's Store on Seventh Avenue in 1927. The little stone school was used for meetings from 1938-40. The Elks' Hall, formerly Carmel Presbyterian Church, was used until 1950 when the

Pentecostals erected their own church on Queen Street. The contractor was W.Manser Jr. The church was named Beulah Tabernacle.

7. St. Andrews' Presbyterian Church, Virden

Following Church Union in 1925, there were many Presbyterians who never felt comfortable with the rituals of the new United Church. Not until 1952 did these people decide to return to the more austere Presbyterian faith. At that time they began holding services in the Legion Hall. The following year they purchased the old Sparling Church from 14 miles (22.5 km) northeast of Brandon.

Sparling Church was designed by James Chisholm, a well-known Winnipeg architect. It was originally built in 1913. The congregation of St. Andrews' dismantled the structure and rebuilt it in Virden at the corner of Ninth Avenue and Wellington Street. Under the direction of R.Hood, the original design of the frame church was altered only by the removal of the roof from the corner tower.

The church officially opened 30 September 1955. The Carscadden Funeral Home nearby was purchased in 1969 and converted into a Christian Education Centre. It was renamed St. Andrew's Christian Youth Centre.

8. Christian Science Church, Virden

The home of Mr. and Mrs. A.G.McDougall was the site of the first Christian Science meeting in Virden in 1901, under

the direction of Agnes Sorague. Later Miss Sorague moved permanently to Virden, forming a Christian Society in 1904. The First Church of Christ Scientist, was formed in 1905.

On Lot 39, Block 132, on Queen Street near Ninth Avenue, a one and a half storey building was constructed by Wm. Manser in 1911. It was built of Virden brick.

While the church was under construction the society held services in the Firehall attached to the Municipal Building. The church officially opened 3 December 1911 and was used until 4 November 1979. The congregation by this time had diminished to the point where it could no longer afford a church. The building was sold in 1979 and demolished in fall 1981.

9. St. Mark's Anglican Church, Elkhorn

A discussion of this building appears in Chapter IV: Identification of Potential Heritage Resources within Virden-Wallace Planning District.

10. Elkhorn Presbyterian Church

A Presbyterian Church was built in Elkhorn in 1888.¹⁴⁷ The church was located on Lot 28, Block 3, on Second Street North. The architect of the Elkhorn Presbyterian Church was W. Davey but it is not clear if he was the designer of the 1888 version or of the enlarged frame church created in 1914.¹⁴⁸

In 1892, when the Methodists were in need of a building, and had indeed been using the Presbyterian Church for services, an attempt was made at local church union. A unanimous decision could not be reached. Thereafter the Presbyterians made a sustained effort to raise \$900 to enable them to obtain an resident ordained minister.¹⁴⁹ In 1892 the Elkhorn charge was formed, consisting of Elkhorn, Two Creeks, and Hargrave. Of these congregations, only Elkhorn possessed its own church.

As a result of the failure of the union attempt, rivalry between the Methodist and Presbyterian congregations was greatly increased. Whereas, in the past, services had been held at alternate times to allow attendance in both faiths, now the congregations held their services simultaneously.¹⁷⁰ When national Church Union took place in 1925 the larger more substantial Methodist Church was chosen as the home of Elkhorn United Church. The organ and pulpit from the Presbyterian Church were moved thence. The fate of the Presbyterian Church building is unknown.

11. Elkhorn Methodist Church / Elkhorn United Church

Early Methodist services were held in the C.P.R. station, and later in Broadley's Hall, located on Lot 1, Block 2 at the corner of Railway Street and First Street. The hall was destroyed by fire in 1892.

For a time in 1892, services were held in the Presbyterian Church. An attempt at Church Union failed, and

the Methodists, led by Mr. Broadley, began to collect money to build a church of their own.

A contract for a two-storey church-manse was given to Mr. Vodden. It was built behind the Central Hotel, on lots 9-10, Block 29. The structure was 32x22 feet (9.7x6.7 m), with a manse on the ground floor and a church on the second floor. The cost was \$1200, of which \$200 was still owed when the church opened 9 July 1893. It was rightfully predicted that the church would soon be too small for the congregation.¹⁷¹

In 1903 the congregation began to build a new larger church at the corner of Grange Avenue and Foxford Street, next to the church-manse. The contractor was A.C. McDougall and the cost was \$7000. When the brick church was completed, the Elkhorn Advocate carried this complete description of it.

The building has a six foot basement being well up above the ground. The front entrance faces Foxford St. There is nearly a six foot opening with massive heavy doors. The vestibule is 10x11 feet with 12 foot ceiling. Large swinging doors admit you to the main auditorium. There is also a hallway leading from the vestibule to the Sunday School room on the west side, and a door leading to the basement from the hallway. The S.S. room is 21x20 feet with a 12 1/2 foot ceiling, and an infant class room and a choir room 15x10 to which entrance is also gained from the outside adjoins this. The main auditorium is 52x30 feet ceiling 18 feet high. The choir's platform and the minister's stand are on the north end and erected according to the most modern idea. Large sliding doors 16 feet wide between the main auditorium and the S. S. room make it possible to convert the whole into one room.....The large window on the south has a striking appearance: it is 9 feet wide and 14 feet high with leaded glass and cost over \$100.....¹⁷²

The church was dedicated 7 February 1904. After Church Union, the edifice was rechristened Trinity United Church. 16 June 1925. At this time the pulpit and organ from the Presbyterian Church were placed in Trinity where they remain in use today.

Construction of a two-storey parsonage was undertaken in May 1909 by George Harris of Virden. The brick-veneered house was 27x29 feet (8.2x8.8 m), with a cottage roof.¹⁷³ It was situated at the corner of Grange Street and Maharg Avenue.

Both the church and parsonage are still in use today.

12. Our Lady of Good Counsel Roman Catholic Church, Elkhorn

The Catholics in Elkhorn were served by priests from Oak Lake, Brandon, and Winnipeg until 1930 when Virden separated from Oak Lake to form a separate parish, of which Elkhorn was a part. Catholic services were held in the home of John Canty for about twenty years, prior to 1905 when he moved to Regina. The location of the Canty home was likely SW32-11-29, a farm patented to Mary Canty in 1882, and land always referred to in later years as the Canty Quarter.¹⁷⁴

The earliest tax rolls available for Elkhorn list Lot 6, Block 11 as property owned by the Roman Catholic church in 1905. Perhaps after the departure of John Canty from the district, a building of some sort was located on this lot and used as a church.

The present small white frame church, located on Lot 1, Block 41 at the corner of Grange Street and Fraser Avenue, was built in the spring of 1931. It is still in use.

13. Church of the Advent Anglican Church, Kola

An Anglican congregation was formed in Township 10, ranges 28, 29, in 1884. It was served by ministers from Virden. In the same year, Mr. and Mrs. A.P. Stewart arrived in the district from Kola, Batton Estate, in England. They homesteaded NW18-10-28. Mrs. Stewart donated land for a church. She also solicited funds from friends in England to erect a suitable building.

The Reverend F.F. Davis of Virden called for tenders for Kola church in September 1886. The 18x36 foot (5.4x11 m) building was to be located on NE13-10-29. It opened 2 December 1886. It was consecrated 22 September 1895 by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Rupertsland. This service signified that the church no longer had any debt. At that time the building's measurements were recorded as 30x19 feet (9x5.8 m) with a porch, 6x6 feet 8 inches (1.8x2 m).¹⁷⁵

The last time regular church services were held in the edifice was in 1944. Since that time only a Thanksgiving service is annually held in the church. The people of Arawana district regularly maintain and repair the church. In August 1977 a cairn was unveiled in the cemetery, located behind the church, to commemorate the early pioneers of the district who lie buried there.

14. St. John the Baptist Anglican Church, Hargrave

The fieldstone shell of this church is located on NE10-11-27, along Provincial Road 252, directly across from Hargrave School. The cornerstone of the church dated 9 July 1902 is in the possession of Charles Milne who owns the adjoining farm.

In 1902 the church was erected by the members of Lebanon Masonic Lodge #43, in honour of their Brother Edward A. Holmes.¹⁷⁴ Holmes, with his brother Charles, immigrated from England to the Bosshill Creek area in 1883. They left to fight in the North West Rebellion in 1885. After his return, E.A. Holmes became a grain buyer at Hargrave. He built an elevator along the C.P.R. tracks after a station was opened in Hargrave. An explosion in the engine room of his elevator killed Holmes in 1901.

Although there is evidence of socials being held in Hargrave distict to raise money to support the church,¹⁷⁷ it cannot have remained open for very long. The puloit from this church was placed in St. Mark's in Elkhorn in 1911, indicating that the congregation of St. John the Baotist was no longer functioning.

15. St. Andrews Presbyterian Church / Hargrave United Church, Hargrave

A Presbyterian Church opened in Hargrave 21 November 1909.¹⁷⁸ It was located on the north side of the C.P.R.

tracks. Today it is separated from Hargrave by the Trans Canada Highway. The building is located on SW14-11-27, at the junction of Provincial Road 252 and the Trans Canada Highway.

The brick church is 30x40 feet (9x12 m). It originally had a steeple, with a bell brought by the J.H.Lane family from Eastern Canada where it was once used on a family boat. The steeple was later destroyed by lightning. It was not rebuilt. Consequently, the bell was returned to the Lane family who later placed it in the Pioneer Home in Virden.¹⁷⁹

The church was closed during the 1940's when the congregation amalgamated with Wallace United Church. The congregation has since been reactivated. Services are conducted in Hargrave United Church by the minister from Elkhorn.

16. Woodville Presbyterian Church / Woodville United Church

Woodville Presbyterian Church was constructed in 1892 by George Scott, assisted by Duncan Anderson. It was located on SE4-11-29, on land donated by Alexander Johnson. The church was named after the many members of the Woods family who lived in the area.

Prairie fires destroyed Woodville Church, as well as surrounding farm buildings, in April 1906. The building was insured for \$300.¹⁸⁰

The second church was also built on SE4-11-29 on land donated by Sir James Aikin, who then owned the quarter section. The structure was of cinder blocks covered with brick veneer. It was designed by the student minister, Mr. Ledingham, aided by John Harvey Scott. The contractor was either Tom Symington or Percy Johnson. The new Presbyterian church opened 25 November 1906.¹⁰¹

The building was renovated by Charles McDonald of Elkhorn in September 1911. The interior was repainted green with a white stencilled border and wainscoting. The floor, ceiling, and pews were varnished; the Gothic windows were frosted; and the aisles were covered with matting.¹⁰²

In May 1949 this second Woodville church suffered the same fate as the first. After prairie fires once again consumed the congregation's home, services were held in Kola School. In 1952 a third Woodville Church was constructed by Allan McLure, assisted by Wm.Goethe, H.J.Wood, and other members of the congregation.

Woodville United Church, as it was known after 1925, closed in 1959. The congregation, searching for a suitable future use for their little country church, sold it to Mr. Smith who moved it to Maryfield for use as a museum.

In Woodville Cemetery, located across the road from the church site, the residents of Woodville community have erected a memorial cairn to commemorate Woodville Church.

17. Knox Presbyterian Church / Wallace United Church

A little stone church was constructed by Mr. Parsons and Mr. Swainson on NE21-11-26 in summer 1900. The Presbyterian congregation opened their church 16 July 1900, naming it Knox Presbyterian Church.

Nearby the Methodists of Montgomery district erected Zion Methodist Church in 1903. The two congregations began to hold joint services in the fall of 1917, but official permission for the congregations to unite was not given until 1 July 1922.¹⁰³ At this time, the "wee stone kirk" was renamed Wallace United Church. As such it remains in use today, serving the citizens of Harmsworth, Joslin, and Montgomery districts. It is part of Virden charge.

18. Zion Methodist Church, Montgomery

This small frame church was erected by the Methodists of Montgomery district in 1903 on the southeast corner of J.H. Clarke's farm, one mile south of Knox Presbyterian Church. This location is probably 16-11-26.¹⁰⁴ The Zion Congregation officially united with Knox Presbyterian Church in 1922 to form Wallace United Church. The fate of the Zion Church building is unknown.

19. Kirkella Presbyterian Church, Kirkella

This church was erected around 1908.¹⁰⁵ It was located across the street from the Kirkella School, and just north of the Orange Lodge Hall. The church closed around 1930. At one point the building was employed as a classroom for high



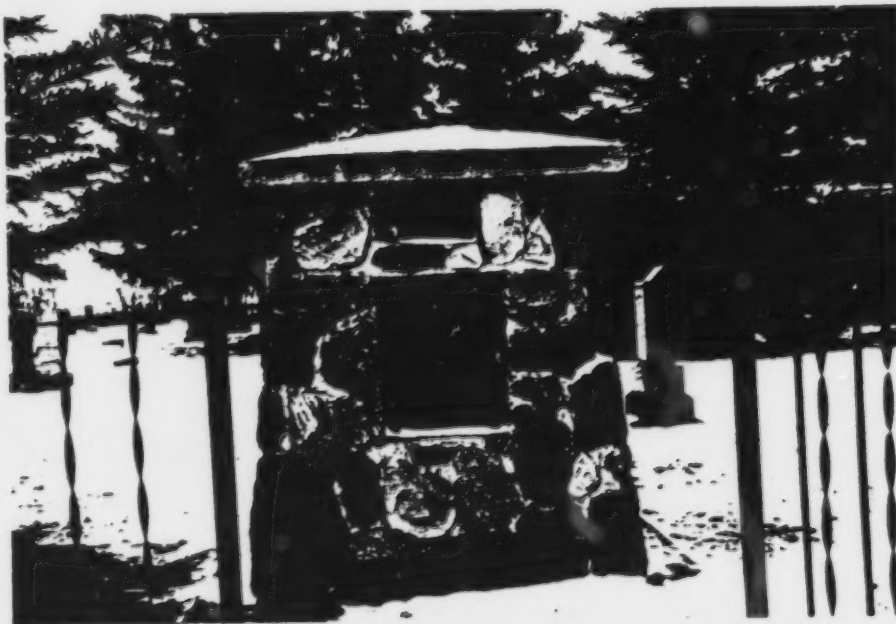
Trinity United Church, Elkhorn, 1985. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



St. Paul's United Church, Virden, 1985.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



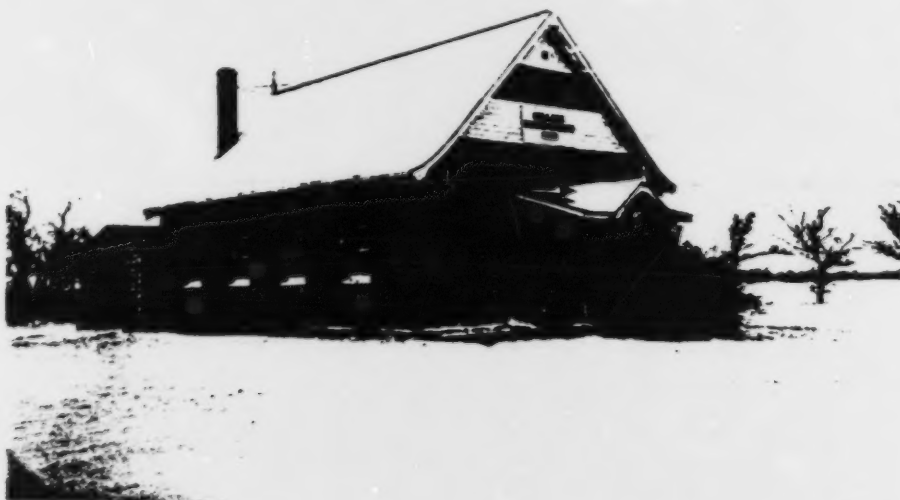
Christian Science Church, Virden, 1967. Built by W. T. Manser in 1911, the building was demolished in 1981. (Source: P.A.M.)



Cairn commemorating Woodville United Church, 1985. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Knox Presbyterian Church, c. 1898. Located on NE 21-11-26, this stone church became Wallace United Church in 1922. (Source: P.A.M.)



Wallace United Church, 1985.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, Virden, 1985. The first church is located on the left, and now serves as a parish hall. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, Virden, 1985. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Hargrave United Church, SW14-11-27, 1985.



St. John the Baptist Anglican Church, Hargrave, 1985. Built in 1902, the building has been abandoned since around 1910. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Our Lady of Good Counsel Roman Catholic Church, Elkhorn, 1985.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Kirkella, 1985.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



An unidentified church in Virden Area, 1961. Possibly this is the Church of the Advent, Kola Anglican Church, located on NE 13-10-29. Used infrequently today, the church is now well kept and has a memorial cairn in the adjoining cemetery, commemorating the early pioneers in Arawana district (Source: P.A.M.)



Church of the Advent, Kola. NE13-10-29
(Source: Historic Resources Branch, 1986)

school students. Eventually the structure was sold and moved to Manson, Manitoba to serve as a church again.¹⁸⁶

20. St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Kirkella

This little white frame church was built by the congregation in summer 1907. It is 30x22 feet (9x6.7 m). It was consecrated by the Archbishop of Rupertsland 1 September 1907, the same day that he blessed the addition to St. Mark's Anglican Church in Elkhorn.¹⁸⁷

Occasional services are still held in the little church located at the end of Maple Street in Kirkella.

F. Public Buildings

1. Virden Hospital

A small private hospital opened on Seventh Avenue in Virden in 1900. It was run by Mrs. A.P. Stewart with the help of Dr. Soarling. This building was destroyed by fire shortly afterward. Dr. G. Clingan also operated a small hospital until 1906. That year the Virden Hospital was incorporated.

The first Virden Hospital was a house built on SE21-10-26 around 1886 by a merchant named Downs. Although this location was considered to be too close to the railway, it served as a temporary hospital until 1910. It contained a four-bed men's ward, a three-bed women's ward, an operating room, and a kitchen-dining room on the main floor. The second floor contained staff rooms, a semi-private ward

maintained by Bosshill district, and a private ward maintained by J.Singer in honour of his mother Mrs. A.P.Stewart.

Arrangements were being made to construct a new building to provide for the growing needs of the community. The town donated four acres (1.6 ha) at Nelson Street and Third Avenue as a building site. Members of the Virden Hospital Board visited other hospitals to obtain ideas for their own building. Finally the decision was made to construct a building following the general lay-out of the Selkirk Hospital. Funds were provided by a provincial government grant, municipal government grants, and private donations. A committee was established to canvass the district. Women's auxiliary groups were organized in River Valley, Harmsworth, Pacific, Elkhorn, Arawana, and other districts.

The building design was provided by architect Wm. Fingland of Winnipeg. Construction was overseen by contractor George Harris of Virden. The plumbing and ventilating system was supplied by Virden Manufacturing Company.

The solid brick structure opened in November 1910. It contained a furnace room, a storage area, a laundry, a kitchen, a staff dining room, and staff sleeping quarters, all in the basement. The main floor contained an office, an emergency ward, a ten-bed public ward, an operating room, a diet kitchen, a preparation room, and a bathroom. The second

floor consisted of a seven-bed public ward and bathroom, the Bosshill semi-private ward, and three private wards operated by the I.O.O.F., River Valley, and Masonic Lodge respectively. The third floor was occupied by the staff.

For many years beginning in 1916, nurses were trained at Virden Hospital in affiliation with King George Hospital in Winnipeg. About five nurses per year were trained until the Depression when a surplus of nurses brought an end to the training program.

Through the years the hospital was maintained with aid from local auxiliaries who supplied all the bed linens, furnishings, and uniforms. Private donations, such as the trust fund established by James and Hannah Scallion, also helped defray operating expenses. A fund drive was employed in 1925 to raise money for an X-ray unit and a new pumping system for the upper floors.

By 1945 the district had outgrown the hospital's facilities. The Manitoba government began to encourage the formation of hospital districts in the province. Virden Hospital District No. 10 was organized in 1949. It was comprised of the towns of Virden, the village of Elkhorn, and the rural municipalities of Wallace, Piobstone, Archie, and parts of the municipalities of Albert, Sifton, Woodworth, and Ellice. Plans were made for a thirty-bed diagnostic unit in Virden and four nursing units located in McAuley, Reston, Oak Lake, and Elkhorn. Later the idea of an Oak Lake unit was abandoned.

The cost of a new Virden Hospital was to be approximately \$330,000, covered by \$75,000 in grants with twenty per cent of the initial cost levied against Virden and ten per cent levied against the smaller nursing unit centres. The remainder was to be covered by a levy against the entire area of Hospital District No. 10.¹⁸⁸

The Hospital Plan was passed by the ratepayers in June 1950. A building committee including the mayors of Virden and Elkhorn and the reeves of Pipestone and Wallace, was formed.¹⁸⁹

After some discussion it was decided to build the new Virden Hospital on land adjoining the old structure. Lots 4, 5, 12, 13, Block "A", Plan 67 were transferred to the Hospital District by the Town of Virden.

The new building was constructed at the corner of Frame Street and First Avenue by Joes and Company Ltd., according to plans prepared by architect H.H.G. Moody.¹⁹⁰ The completed structure, with thirty-six beds, a ten bassinet-nursery, two operating rooms, an X-ray unit, a laboratory, and offices, opened 12 September 1952.¹⁹¹ This hospital has since been modernized.

2. Elkhorn Hospital

When Dr. Robert Goodwin arrived in the small village of Elkhorn in 1894, he found himself serving a large outlying area, extending west to Marvfield, north to Arrow River and

McAuley, south to Butler and Ebor, and east to Hargrave and Two Creeks.

Dr. Goodwin and his wife built a large home on Richill Avenue which they used as a hospital facility. This large white frame house, on Lot 8, Block 34, was sold, along with Dr. Goodwin's practice, to Dr. Clarence Johnston in 1920. The Johnstons' home served as Elkhorn's hospital until 1947. Today this structure is a private residence.

In 1949 Elkhorn became part of Virden Hospital District No. 10, and a ten-bed hospital was planned for the village. A local hospital committee was formed. The site chosen for the structure was the old "village park", on the west side of Cavendish Street, north of Maharg Avenue. Besides a grant from the provincial government and the Manitoba Pool Elevator Association, pledges were received from the Elkhorn Stadium Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the United Church Circle, and many individual citizens.

The building contract was awarded to Wiebe Construction of Winnipeg for \$46,750. The building, when completed, cost over \$56,860. It officially opened 15 November 1951.¹⁹² The two-storey stucco building contained four two-bed wards, an operating and case room, a nursery, offices, and storage and service rooms, all on the upper floor. The ground floor contained a kitchen, a dining room, a supply room, an X-ray room, a laundry room, plus a three-room nurses' residence. Funds to furnish the hospital were raised by Hospital Aid groups in Elkhorn and the surrounding districts.

A two-storey, twelve-foot (3.6 m) wide addition was completed on the south side of the hospital in 1963. The architect was A.W. Trimble. This addition provided another two-bed ward, along with a bathroom and X-ray room on the top floor. On the bottom floor a pantry, a larger dining room, a storage area, and a lobby were added.

Over the years other changes have been made in the use of the hospital's space. Today the building is a nursing care home for senior citizens. It still provides emergency treatment. Since Elkhorn no longer has a resident doctor, a doctor from Virden visits the hospital three times per week.



Former home of Dr. Goodwin and later Dr. Johnston, Elkhorn, 1985. This building served as a hospital until 1946. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

IV. Identification of Potential Heritage Resources within Virden-Wallace Planning District

A. Trails

1. Fort Ellice Trail - South Branch

Fort Ellice was a Hudson's Bay Company fur post established in 1831, on Beaver Creek, three miles (4.8 km) west of the Assiniboine River. It was built to counteract the rivalry from free traders who were active in the upper Red River area. Later it also faced opposition from an American Fur Company post built in 1839 at the forks of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Ellice replaced earlier temporary North West Company posts near the Assiniboine River. These included Fort Montagne a la Bosse built in 1794, Fort Esperance opened in 1783, Cuthbert Grant House built in 1794, and Beaver House built in 1817.

By 1851 Fort Ellice had become the centre of the Upper Red River District. After 1858 the fort became important primarily as a provisioning post, and a key post in the Company's transportation network. A new structure was built in 1863-5, one and a half miles (2.4 km) from the old site. The new post stood about 250 feet (76.2 m) above the Assiniboine Valley, three miles (4.8 km) from the forks of the Qu'Appelle River. Here, the Company continued to collect furs and engage in the buffalo trade, as well as to provision brigades travelling west to Fort Carleton and

elsewhere. All year around supplies were sent out from Fort Ellice to various posts in the Swan River District, and provisions were supplied to overlanders and Hudson's Bay freighters. Only after 1882, with the advent of railways and settlement, did the fort lose its importance.

Three trails connected the Hudson's Bay headquarters at Fort Garry with Fort Ellice. The first, called the Fort Ellice or Saskatchewan Trail, branched north at Portage la Prairie and closely followed the present-day route of the Yellowhead Highway, through Westbourne, Gladstone, Minnedosa, and Birtle.

The second trail, aptly called the Fort Ellice Middle Branch, took a middle road. It travelled west from Portage la Prairie almost to Carberry, and then cut northwest, rejoining the Fort Ellice Trail at Newdale.

The third trail, called Fort Ellice or Saskatchewan, South Branch, continued west where the Middle Branch turned northward. It passed through Grand Valley and then ran along the south side of the Assiniboine River to the future site of Virden. Here it turned northward, paralleling the course of the river until it reached Fort Ellice. This last trail is mentioned in an 1873 survey report by Robert Bell.

From Fort Ellice we returned to Fort Garry by a trail which keeps to the south of the Assiniboine River as far as "The Rapids", below the junction of the Rapid, or "Little Saskatchewan" River, where it crosses the Assiniboine and joins the northern trail two miles west of Pine Creek.*

In an 1879 report, Pine Creek is identified as lying 141.7 miles (228 km) from Fort Ellice, and 48.5 miles (78 km) from Portage la Prairie.²

The trail was surveyed in 1886 as the Southern Qu'Appelle Trail.³

The three branches of the Fort Ellice Trail were all essential avenues of transport during the fur trade era. Red River carts carved deep ruts in the prairie sod as they wound their way from Red River to Fort Ellice and beyond. The coming of the railway in 1882 decreased their importance, as did the steamboat navigation of the Assiniboine River which began in the 1870's. Most of the settlers in Wallace municipality made their way into the district by these last two methods. A hearty few, however, followed in the footsteps of the early furtraders. They made use of the existing trails, one of which was the Southern Branch of the Fort Ellice Trail. From Fort Ellice one could follow the Northern branch of the Trail to Birtle where all land claims had to be registered.

One of the first families to settle in the Elkhorn district was the Vaux family who came from England in March 1882. They got off the train at Oak Lake and walked over the Fort Ellice Trail South Branch to claim a homestead. Then they walked to Birtle to file their claim. Mrs. Jim Hartley, a daughter of the Vaux, remembers distinctly hearing the squeaking of the carts along the Ellice Trail from long distances away.⁴

The Fort Ellice Trail South Branch entered Wallace municipality on SE12-10-26, cut across to SW13-10-26, and then meandered westward across sections 14 and 15 before cutting north, diagonally across 22-10-26, Virden townsite. The trail ran north along the boundary between sections 27 and 28, before beginning a northwesterly course through Township 11, Range 26, and Two Creeks district. Early survey maps of Wallace only show the trail running as far as SW13-12-27. The trail probably left Wallace near 35-12-27, and continued diagonally to a point southwest of Fort Ellice where a branch led eastward to that post while another continued westward to Fort Qu'Appelle.

In 1912 the Elkhorn Advocate reported:

The old trails which used to wind their tortuous way north to Fort Ellice, Beulah, and Birtle; south and west to Cannington Manor, Moose Mountain and Moosomin; east to Virden, are all cut up, in many cases fenced and under cultivation. Road allowances which were thought to be impassable have been opened up, graded, and made passable for travel.²

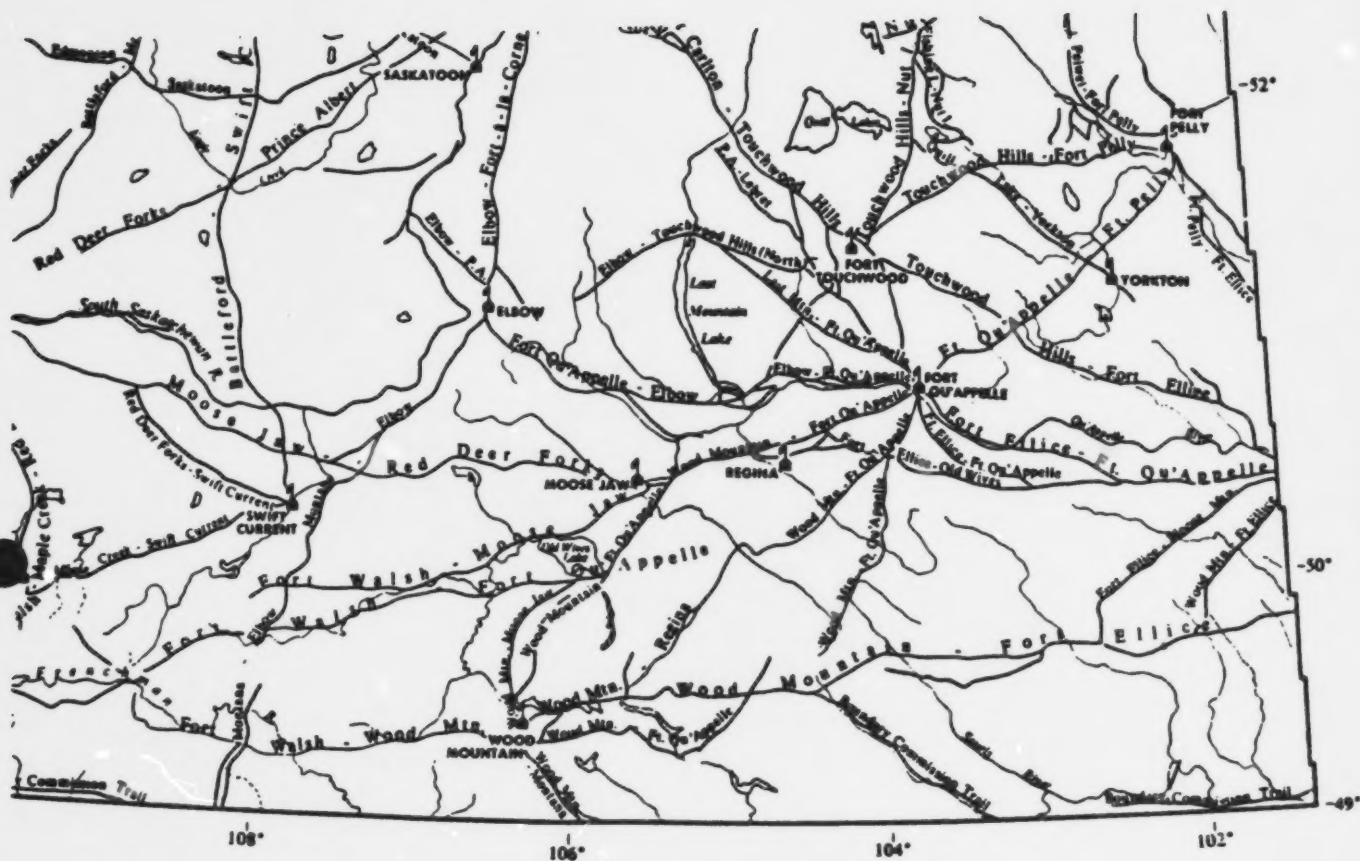
The furtrade era had definitely been replaced by a new agricultural economy. The old trails such as Fort Ellice South Branch, had served their purpose: they had provided a bridge between the two eras of development.

2. Moose Mountain Trail

An early trail intersected the South Branch of the Fort Ellice Trail near the present site of Oak Lake. This trail



Trails Map of South Western Manitoba, showing three branches of Fort Ellice Trail. Fort Ellice Trail South Branch is marked here as "To Grand Valley"; Fort Ellice Trail Middle Branch is shown as "Fort Ellice Trail South". (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Map showing continuation of Trail to Moose Mountain after crossing Saskatchewan boundary.

followed a southwesterly course to Moose Mountain, located near present-day Cannington Manor in southeastern Saskatchewan. This "mountain" was a source of wood, a scarce commodity on the prairie between Fort Ellice, Fort Qu'Appelle, and the Assiniboine River. A trail ran directly from the "mountain" to Fort Ellice as well.

The greater portion of the Moose Mountain Trail was in Pipestone municipality. The trail entered Wallace around SW6-10-28 and ran west on the north side of Pipestone Creek until NW8-10-29 where it crossed the Creek and continued westward into Saskatchewan. The trail exited Wallace on NW7-10-29 and wound approximately another forty miles to Moose Mountain.

The Moose Mountain Trail was instrumental in the settlement of the Lippentott, Kola, and Arawana districts. Many settlers entered this region prior to the construction of the railway by travelling overland on the Moose Mountain Trail from the Saskatchewan Trail South Branch. Its significance as a settler's trail dwindled after 1885. As late as 1902, however, inhabitants of districts as far north as Elkhorn continued to use the western portion of the trail to travel to Moose Mountain to cut wood for fuel.*

B. Homes

1. Bosshill Farm

Bosshill Farm was established by two Englishmen, Francis P. Bouverie and Thomas Routledge, around 1884-5. In

that year the two men purchased 27-10-26 from the C.P.R. They placed their buildings on SW27-10-26, adjacent to Virden townsite. Today the beautiful cottage they erected in 1889 is the private residence of Pat Andrews.⁷ Much of the farm has been subdivided.

Francis Bouverie was the younger son of the Earl of Radnor of Lympe Castle, Kent. As a younger son he was encouraged to emigrate to Canada. This he did, with his close friend Thomas Routledge. Routledge had served as a captain in the British Army and his military experience was much in demand in Western Canada. Routledge served with Major Bell at Indian Head during the 1885 North West Rebellion.⁸ At this time he was instrumental in establishing the home guard unit in Virden that would eventually evolve into the Twelfth Dragoons. Routledge attempted to enter politics in the 1886 election.

Running as a Conservative candidate for John Norquay, he was defeated by Dan McLean who went on to serve as Provincial Treasurer in the Greenway administration. Routledge apparently maintained a prestigious and influential position in the Manitoba Conservative party. Charles Acton Burrows appealed to Routledge in August 1891 to use his influence with the federal Conservatives to help him acquire the wardenship of Stonewall Mountain Penitentiary. Routledge

wrote to other leading Canadian Conservatives on Burrows' behalf.⁹

Routledge was operating a real estate firm at this time, titled T. Routledge and Co. As well as operating Bosshill Farm in Virden, Routledge and his partner, Bouverie, were at least managers, but possibly part-owners of Elphinstone Farm at Newdale.¹⁰ This farm was one of two established by the younger son of Lord Elphinstone. This young man, like Bouverie and Routledge, was a misplaced English aristocrat. Like Bouverie, he would later return to England to take his proper place in society.

When the editor of the Virden Advance visited Bosshill Farm in July 1886, he wrote the following glowing report.

A walk of one and a half miles brought me to Mr. Bouverie's 1,600 acre farm. Nearly half is under crop this year....the buildings are compact and comfortable and the livestock of the best breeds. Mr. Bouverie's granary held 8000 bushels of wheat last season, besides flax, oats, and root crops. Turnips attained a large growth.¹¹

Bouverie's specialty, however, was horse breeding. Horses bred at Bosshill were entered in races across Canada, as well as in too exhibitions. Bouverie often travelled overseas or to the East either to purchase or sell stock. In 1891 he and Routledge "purchased a thoroughbred imported Irish stallion and three brood mares from Ontario."¹²

While they lived in the district both men played active roles in the Dennis County Agricultural Society and the Virden Turf Club. As well they were instrumental in the

establishment of the first Virden grist mill, and the building of St. Mary's Anglican Church in 1885. Their activities in promoting the district included entertaining Lord Landsdowne, the Governor General of Canada, when he visited Virden in October 1885. The Governor General was on a survey trip west to view the new lands opened up by the transcontinental railway.

When Thomas Routledge died suddenly in December 1893, Bouverie had no wish to remain in Canada. He returned to England permanently. When he left, Bouverie sold the farm to W.J.Gyles. The following description exists of the farm in 1902.

Mr. Gyles and his family reside on the Bosshill Farm, immediately adjoining the town limits of Virden. The property was originally owned by Messrs. Bouverie and Routledge, two English gentlemen, who lavished their time and money in making a pleasing and pleasant home. A way with beautiful shade trees on both sides leads up to the residence from the town. The house itself is surrounded by a pretty grove, while the grounds are ornamented with flowers of every description, evergreens, creepers, and shrubs. Mr. Gyles' farm is undoubtedly one of the best in the whole province. It is splendidly equipped with machinery. There are twenty working teams and 140 head of cattle on the farm, also two driving teams. Last year his crop of wheat averaged 25 bushels to the acre. He has 300 acres in crop this year.¹³

In more recent years the farm was the property of Gordon Grose. It remained one of the best farms in Virden district, until its proximity to Virden townsite made it

expedient to subdivide at least the portion south of the Trans Canada Highway.

The creators of Bosshill Farm, Thomas Routledge and Francis Bouverie, were intent on re-establishing their former lifestyle in the wilds of Western Canada. The manor house, complete with fine herds of cattle and horses, was a symbol to all who passed through the district that life need not be rough in the new land. The farm, because it was located adjacent to the townsite, was visible to all who visited the district by train or trail. Pictures of the farm appeared in various publications promoting settlement in the West.

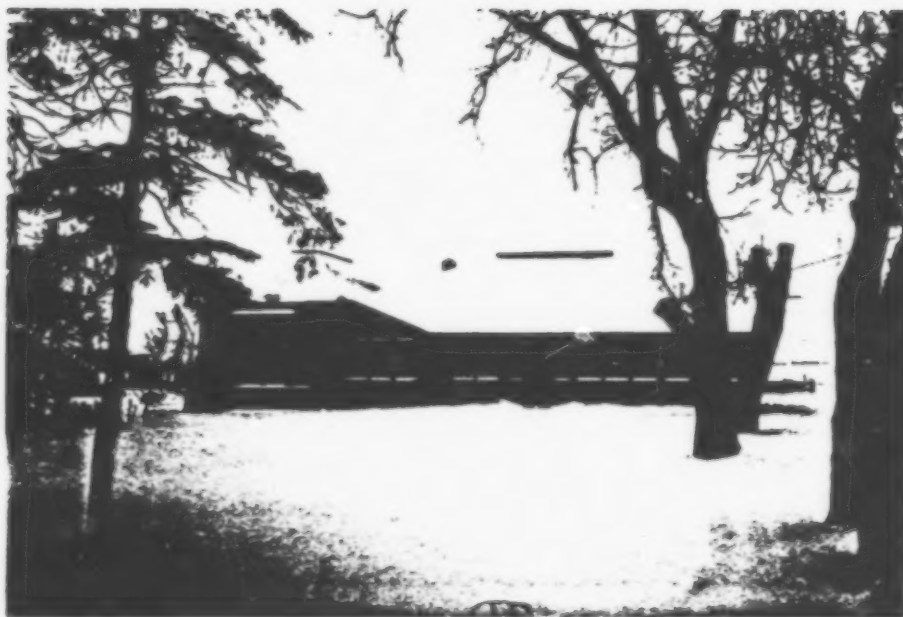
Bouverie and Routledge helped to promote a highly civilized society in the new district. They engendered all the virtues of upper class English society and these they helped to plant in Virden. Tangible evidence of their early influence exists in the form of St. Mary's Church, a replica of an English country church. The tradition of horse racing, carried on by the Virden Fair, dates from their establishment of a Turf Club. Less visible but very much present is the formal structure of Virden society where fine manners and good breeding are still appreciated.

Bosshill Farm under the original owners was never as industrious or prosperous as James Scallion's farm, for example, but was a reflection of the gentility of its owners. It was living proof that the western experience need not cause one to lower one's standards.



MESSRS. BOUYERIE & ROUTLEDGE'S BOSS HILL FARM, VIRDEN, MANITOBA.

Bosshill Farm, SW27-10-26, 1892. (Source: Western World Volume 3. No. 32. October 1892, p. 251.)



Former home of Thomas Routledge and F. P. Bouverie on Bosshill Farm,
1985. Now the residence of P. Andrews. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

2. James Scallion's Farm

James Scallion is recognized as one of the founding fathers of the grain growers' movement in Manitoba. He became the first president of the Manitoba Grain Growers Association in 1903. This association challenged the stranglehold that private grain companies exercised over the agricultural economy. The efforts of its members led to the formation of the United Grain Growers Grain Company, and the formation of a political organization called the Progressives or United Farmers of Manitoba, which led the agrarian revolt of Western Canada in 1921.

James Scallion was born in County Wexford, Ireland 14 February 1842. With his parents he emigrated to Hamilton, Ontario in 1850. Later the family moved to Thorold, Ontario. After attending the University of Toronto, James Scallion briefly became a teacher before entering the mercantile business in Thorold with his brother Thomas. In 1882 the two brothers and their two sisters, Catherine and Hannah, moved west to Manitoba, finally settling in Virden in 1883.

The family was the first to purchase (versus homesteading) land in the Virden area. They acquired 9-11-26 from the C.P.R. In 1900 the family took advantage of the School Lands Sale to acquire the S1/2 11-11-26. On their 960 acre farm, the brothers engaged in stock farming.¹⁴

The farm was called The Grange. The buildings were located on NE9-11-26. The large fieldstone two-storey house and a fieldstone elevator were distinctive.

This farm with its splendid home, in which there was always a spirit of true Irish hospitality, its large barns, its trees, its gardens, and fields was an outstanding place where visitors were always taken to be properly impressed with the advantages which this district offered to prospective settlers.¹⁵

James Scallion was a public spirited citizen. He could be relied upon to cooperate in forwarding worthy enterprises. As a leading agriculturalist and an educated man, it was natural for him to monitor the activities of the grain growers' movement in the North West Territories (Alberta and Saskatchewan), and to seek information about it as early as 1902. In December of that year the agricultural society in Virden selected a committee to arrange a special meeting with the idea of establishing a grain growers' branch in Manitoba. The meeting was held 7 January 1903. It was attended by W.R.Motherwell, one of the founders of the North West Association. The local Virden branch that resulted was headed by President James Scallion. The executive included other leading district agriculturalists: George Carefoot, J.A.Blakeman, Peter McDonald, Col. C.E.Ivens, and Issac Bennett.

The example set by Virden was quickly followed by similar organizing activities at other country points in the province. James Scallion travelled energetically and

extensively, encouraging his fellow Manitobans to form local associations. He found his work facilitated by the discontent bred by the mishandling of the 1902 grain crop. The wide ramification of the movement resulted in the Manitoba locals' forming their own provincial organization, independent of the North West territorial body.

In March 1903 the Manitoba Grain Growers Association was established with twenty-two locals under its jurisdiction. This occurred at a convention in Brandon at which James Scallion

lamentingly spoke of the 40,000 farmers of the West who produced 60,000,000 bushels of wheat and should be prosperous, but unfortunately were being "done" by the manufacturers, the railway promoter, and the dealer in grain.¹⁴

Scallion was elected the first president of the new association. The vice-president was R.C. Henders who would later enter politics on behalf of farmers.

Scallion remained president for many years, travelling across Manitoba, encouraging the membership to unite against their common enemies. In December 1919 he was among the 800 Canadian farmers who went to Ottawa to confront the government directly with their grievances. There, Scallion made an outstanding speech against the tariff, which he and his fellow members had come to regard as the instrument used by eastern politicians to rob western farmers. At this time Scallion "was probably held in greater regard, esteem, and

affection by farmers of the West than any other man among them."¹⁷

When the United Farmers of Manitoba organization was formed in 1920. James Scallion's prestige and contribution to the agrarian cause was recognized. He was elected the first president of this, the first farmers' organization with political objectives.¹⁸ Later he was made honorary president for life.

In 1922 the Manitoba Agricultural College honored James Scallion in recognition of "his work with agriculture in Manitoba and his contribution to the social and economic betterment of the farm community".¹⁹

Scallion and his sister Hannah inaugurated philanthropic works in Virden by endowing the Virden Hospital with \$10,000 in 1924. The following year they established the Scallion Endowment Fund for \$5000 to be invested in securities. The proceeds of the fund were to be used for the upkeep and beautification of the local cemetery.²⁰

James Scallion died 25 April 1926 in Virden. He and his remaining sister Hannah had sold the family farm around 1918 and had moved into Virden. The farm is presently owned by Garth Gerrand. The large fieldstone house and elevator remain on site. They are used for grain storage.



James Scallion's home on NE9-11-26W, 1985. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)



James Scallion's Elevator on NE9-11-26W, 1985. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

C. Churches

1. St. Mary's Anglican Church, Virden

A meeting of the vestry of the Anglican congregation in Virden in August 1885 chose a building site for a church on land donated by the Canada North West Land Company. The site chosen was lots 17-20, Block 119, on Queen Street at Ninth Avenue. Here the first St. Mary's Church was built and here the second church building still stands.

In 1885, with a building fund of \$485, it was possible to commence work on the church building, following plans prepared by Mr. Wyatt and Mr. Palmer. Subscriptions were taken for the additional \$160 deemed necessary to complete the building. The contract was given to Clayton and Son in October 1885. The new church officially opened 20 December 1885.²¹

The frame church was the first church building in Virden. The first permanent minister appointed to St. Mary's was the Reverend F.F.Davis, who would later be instrumental in building other Anglican churches within Wallace and elsewhere in Manitoba.²²

By 1889 the congregation of St. Mary's had decided that the church building was inadequate. They made plans to sell it and replace it with a larger stone structure. That same year a parsonage was constructed.

The old church was removed from the site in April 1892. A contract for the masonry work on the new building was given to Mr. Saul of Carberry. The carpentry contract went to Mr. Harrington of Winniepeg. The plans for the large

fieldstone structure had been designed by the Reverend H.L.Watts, the minister of St. Mary's at the time.²³

The stones for the church were hauled from the Assiniboine Valley by horses. They were then cut, faced, and put in place. The cornerstone of the church was laid 18 May 1892. The building was officially opened 4 September 1892, but not consecrated until 12 November 1905. Consecration could not take place until the building was free from debt. Since originally the congregation intended to have all the money subscribed prior to construction, the project must have proved more expensive than expected, or perhaps later additions incurred more debt.²⁴

The original building was 72x30 feet (22x9 m), with a 14x14 foot (4.2x4.2 m) tower. The lich gate (roofed gateway) was added later to give the church a further touch of Old England. In 1910 George Harris was given a contract to construct a parish hall next to the church on Queen Street. The cost was \$3000. In 1915 Harris also constructed a new rectory nearby.

The first of a series of stained glass windows was installed in St. Mary's in November 1922. This first window honoured the heroes of World War I. After the Second World War a medallion window was presented by the City of Bruges, Belgium to the Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons in commemoration of the liberation of the city by this regiment in September 1944. Inscribed, "Thanks to our Canadian liberators", the window was unveiled 20 October 1952. Other windows were

unveiled through the years in memory of prominent members of the congregation.

A cloister in matching fieldstone was added to the main building in 1952. A stone fence was erected around the property, and the front of the parish hall was improved by the addition of a stone entrance.

Two new stained glass windows, called the Veterans' Double Window, were created by Leo Mol of Winnipeg and were dedicated in October 1963. They honour the memory of officers and non-commissioned officers of the Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons, and other men and women of the community who served in World War II. The final window, called the Bridgett Resurrection Window was dedicated to William Bridgett and his wife. Bridgett was the last surviving member of the petitioners for the creation of St. Mary's Parish.

St. Mary's Anglican Church is still in service today. Its significance lies not only in its outstanding native fieldstone construction and magnificent memorial windows, but in the fact that the parish of St. Mary's was the first congregation to erect a church in the Virden-Wallace area.

2. St. Mark's Anglican Church, Elkhorn

St. Mark's Anglican Church is the oldest church in Elkhorn and the first Anglican church built in Birtle Deanery, which is a territory stretching from Virden to Strathclair to Russell.

Early Anglican services were conducted by the rector of St. Mary's Church in Virden. They were held in the old frame schoolhouse. The present frame church was constructed in spring 1887, on lots 24-25, Block 2, on First Street North. St. Marks was officially opened by the Bishop of the Diocese 20 August 1887.²⁵

The original church was porchless. A separate rectory was constructed nearby on Lot 26, Block 2. A stained glass window was placed in the south wall of the chancel of the church sometime after 1893 to commemorate the memory of Mrs. Mary Thomas, an early pioneer. A second stained glass window above the altar was unveiled 2 April 1922 in memory of soldiers who fought in the Great War. A belfry was erected in the churchyard in 1900.²⁶

The life of St. Mark's congregation was closely associated with the Elkhorn Indian School, operated by the Anglican church. The principal of the school often acted in a dual capacity as rector of the church. To assist him in the operation of the parish, a succession of church army captains and student ministers were appointed. Because of the large number of students attending St. Mark's, an addition was necessary.

The addition was completed in September 1906. It consisted of the enlargement of the chancel and a wing in the form of a half transept. A chapel in this northern part of the chancel was used by the residential students. The



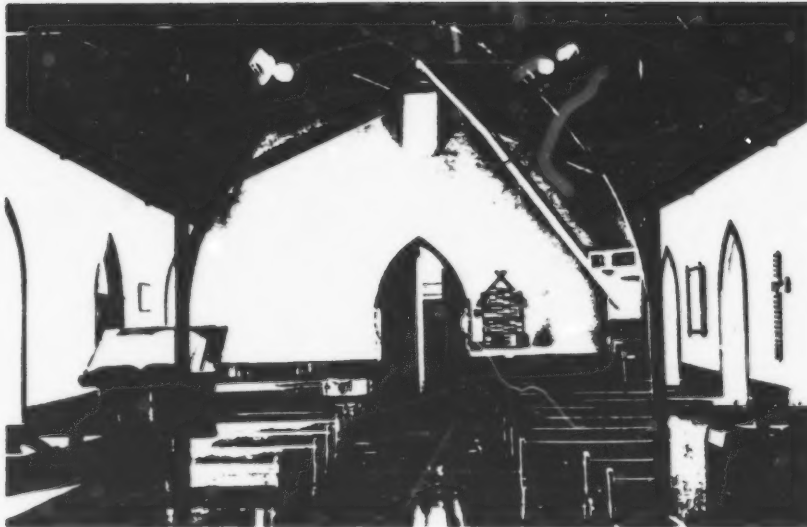
St. Mary's Anglican Church, Virden 1985.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



St. Mark's Anglican Church, Elkhorn, 1985
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



St. Mark's Anglican Church and Vicarage, Elkhorn, c. 1900.
(Source: P.A.M.)



Interior, St. Mark's Anglican Church, Elkhorn, 1967.
(Source:P.A.M.)

church, now 68x34 feet (20.7x10 m), was consecrated 1 September 1907 by the Archbishop of Rupertsland.²⁷

In 1911 the pulpit from the stone church at Hargrave was transferred to St. Mark's by the Lebanon Masonic Lodge. At some later date the church and rectory were linked by a vestry room, and a porch was added to the front door of the church.

St. Mark's is still in use and is well maintained. The rectory is no longer inhabited by the rector, however. Instead it is rented out as a private residence.

D. Schools

1. Virden Public School / Mary Montgomery School

This white brick building, located on lots 1-11, 29-40, Block 130, faces Ninth Avenue between Lyon and Seymour streets. It was the home of the first consolidated school district in Manitoba.

In order to reduce costs in rural school districts springing up all over Manitoba, the Provincial Government of R.P. Roblin introduced amendments to the Public Schools Act in 1904. The amendments allowed two or more school districts in any municipality, or adjacent to one another but in different municipalities, to unite into a larger "consolidated" school district, if agreed to by the school trustees or a majority of ratepayers in each school

district. The maximum size of a consolidated district was not limited.

To encourage adaptation of the new legislation by rural school districts, the Roblin Government agreed to subsidize transportation costs resulting from consolidation. The grant amounted to \$20 per month for every teacher employed by the newly consolidated school district. As well, to reduce educational costs, the new districts were encouraged to decrease their teaching staffs. A grant of \$20 per month for every teacher unemployed as a result of consolidation was offered to consolidated districts.

The first districts to be consolidated were Virden and Holland-Dawson, both in 1905. A report on consolidation in the Department of Education Annual Report 1905 stated:

To Virden falls the honour of having the first consolidated school in Manitoba. Virden and Shane school districts have been united and the school is situated in the Town of Virden. A fine new structure has been erected and will be occupied early in January 1906. A van has been built at Winnipeg, and arrangements made for the necessary transportation.²⁸

In the Department of Education Annual Report 1906, Inspector C.K. Newcombe of the Western Electoral Division reported on operations in Virden: "A consolidated school district has been in Virden for one year. The pupils attend regularly and make good progress."²⁹

At the time of consolidation Virden was experiencing severe overcrowding in her two stone schools. Not only were the six classrooms inadequate to hold her 238 students, but

the playground was too small as well. The larger of the two schools was not considered totally safe in spite of the remedial measures taken to brace its bulging walls. The heating and ventilation systems were grossly inadequate for classrooms holding 40-50 students.³⁰ An added stress had been placed on classroom capacity by the establishment of a high school department in 1901. By 1905 the high school consisted of two rooms holding 24 and 27 pupils respectively.

Shane School District #1325, with which Virden consolidated, was established by Wallace municipality in January 1905, with the expressed understanding that instead of building a school, it would join with Virden. No physical description of Shane district appears in the School Formation Records of the Department of Education. The Consolidated School District of Virden contained nearly all of Township 10, Range 26. Therefore Shane School District must have been located very near to Virden itself, and probably was located just south of Virden.

While awaiting the formal consolidation of the two school districts, Virden and Shane taxpayers, 20 April 1905 passed a bylaw raising \$25,000 to build a new public school. When the Department of Education gave official confirmation of consolidation 27 May 1905, construction got under way at the new school site on Ninth Avenue.

Victor W. Horwood, the Provincial Architect, provided the design for the building. The contract was awarded to a

Mr. Haw. The cornerstone was laid according to Masonic rites 28 August 1905. While the eight-room brick school was under construction, there was some agitation to change the design to a twelve-room school by adding another storey. The fact that Virden's taxpayers had become accustomed to building schools that were immediately inadequate was probably responsible for this pessimistic approach. The architect, however, rejected the feasibility of enlarging the building, so the idea was abandoned.

Virden Public School opened 28 January 1906. Virden's citizens proudly toured the eight rooms. The Virden Empire Advance reported:

Each of these rooms is handsomely finished, and the ceilings are metallic, the walls plastered, and the wainscoting is first class B.C. fir, oiled and varnished. The floors [are] of good dry hard maple....Off each room is a cloakroom.

In the basement is the heating and ventilation furnaces, four in number and the ventilation system is such that no windows need to be opened.....There is a large playroom with cement floor for the boys and two large rooms for the girls in the basement, besides the fuel rooms and store room.

On the second floor besides the four school rooms is the teachers' room and library, but it lacks one thing, there is no way to heat it except from the school rooms and to get this the library doors will have to be kept open.²¹

High school classes were moved to a separate building in 1911 but the Virden Public School, combined with the small two-room stone school built in 1897, remained the home of all other grades until the oil boom and its attendant



Mary Montgomery School, Virden 1985. Formerly Virden Public School, it was built in 1905 to serve the newly established Virden Consolidated School District. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

rise in population forced the school board to build a second elementary school in 1956.

Virden Public School was renamed Marv Montgomery School in June 1963, in honour of a school teacher who had spent forty of her fifty classroom years as a teacher at the school.

An extensive renovation program was undertaken in 1967 at a cost of \$40,000. Today, totally refurbished, Marv Montgomery School continues in use as Virden's primary school.

2. Elkhorn Indian Residential School

The foundations of the Indian Residential School were laid by the Rev. E.F. Wilson who established the first Indian Home, called Washakada, in Elkhorn in 1888.

Mr. Wilson was greatly interested in the culture of the North American Indians, but appalled by both the decadence of this culture after the arrival of the European, and by the inability of the Indians to adjust to the new circumstances affecting their homeland. In the hopes of training them to take a place in the new society, Wilson established two homes for Indian children in Algoma, Ontario.

In 1885 Wilson first visited the North West.

In that summer he saw for the first time the wild heathen Indians of the prairies, dressed in blankets and feathers, their faces painted, and

living in teepees...He went around to many of their camps and saw in what a wild condition they were living, with no one to teach them, their children uncared for and growing up in vice and ignorance. The thought came strongly into his mind that he would like to establish a Branch Home in the midst of these wild people. He communicated his idea to the Bishop of Rupertsland and he warmly favored the scheme.³²

Wilson travelled throughout Ontario with an Indian boy addressing meetings and trying to interest people in his project; he also produced a pamphlet which ended with the invitation, "if any person should feel drawn to give \$1000 towards the proposed object. I shall regard it as the leading of providence and at once take steps to direct the institution".³³

George Rosewell, a merchant in Elkhorn, had always taken great interest in the Indians, and "always treated them kindly and justly and the Indians had given him the name "Washakada", meaning "all that is good".³⁴ Rosewell responded to Wilson's pamphlet and the two men began to erect a building and receive students in spring 1887. The Indian Department of the Federal Government gave the school a \$12,000 grant plus an annual grant towards maintenance. Thus, under the direction of contractor George Broadlev of Elkhorn, two substantial buildings, one the Washakada Home for girls, and the other the Kasota Home for boys, were erected. Between them a central building was erected in which the children took their meals and school lessons.³⁵ This complex was known collectively as the Washakada Home.

The buildings were located on lots 4-7, Block 4 on Railway Street, between Third and Fourth avenues. The initial cost of the frame buildings was borne entirely by the federal government, but outside of a per capita grant of \$100 per year, the expense of maintenance was covered entirely by private charity. The buildings were periodically inspected by government inspectors and Indian commissioners.

The Washakada School opened 10 June 1888 with eight students. It was formally opened 6 August 1888 by the Lord Bishop of Rupertsland and the Indian Commissioner.³⁶ Shortly afterward, in October 1889, the school was visited by the Governor General of Canada, Lord Stanley. It had been intended that for his amusement the Indians and Whites would stage a buffalo hunt in the buffalo wallows near Elkhorn. Unfortunately the train schedule caused Lord Stanley to miss the entertainment.³⁷

During the first years of operation, the school's administrators had great difficulty in persuading the Indians that attendance at the school was beneficial, and that they should allow their children to attend. Wilson found that other churches had entered the field of educating Indian children. When Elkhorn school was established it was the only one located in the region. Soon after, however, Rupertsland School opened in Winnipeg. A Presbyterian institution was opened in Birtle. These provided competition for the few Indian children whose parents were willing to send them away to school. These circumstances dictated that

the head of Washakada School spend a great deal of his time visiting Indian reservations in Manitoba and the North West on recruiting missions. Once the children arrived at the school further difficulties arose in keeping them there, since the adaptation to a new culture was often too drastic.

During the winter of 1891-2 the Rev. Wilson's son, A.E. Wilson was appointed as superintendent of the Washakada and Kasota Indian Homes. He was to remain the driving force behind the school's operation until 1918.

Under Wilson's direction the residential school was transformed into an industrial school. First a boot and shoemakers' shop was opened. Orders were taken for boots and shoes from other institutions, such as Red Deer Industrial School, which ordered 25 pairs of boys' boots and 20 pairs of girls' shoes in May 1893.³⁸ Shoe repairs and orders were also sought from the surrounding community.

A carpentry school under the management of local builder, F. Middleton, opened in March 1892. All kinds of buildings and repairs were undertaken. The school sought contracts for the erection of buildings in town as well as the creation of carriages, window and door frames, and furniture.³⁹

Wilson was very anxious to bring more Indian boys to Washakada to learn the various trades. After graduation he hoped they would be able to practise these skills either in the white man's world or on the reserves, thereby improving living standards among their own people.

In October 1892 a new tailor shop was erected alongside the shoe shop. As well, the Indian School farm had successfully harvested its first crop of 2000 bushels (44.45 tonnes) of grain from a half section of land it leased five miles (8 km) west of Elkhorn. Here were located a house, stable, and other buildings. The older boys took turns, in groups of three, spending a week or two at the farm under the supervision of an instructor. It was hoped that once they returned home, the boys would be able to introduce the knowledge gained at the farm to other Indians, and thus improve agricultural production on the reservations.⁴⁰

While the school was expanding rapidly, there is some evidence that not all the townspeople appreciated the influx of native children into their community. The Virden Advocate in 1892 reported:

Latterly there has been too much freedom between the squaws and the white boys, and to prevent any continuance of the same, a boarded fence has been placed between the lumberyard and the Home. This makes each more private.⁴¹

The Rev. Wilson constantly visited the nearby reserves at Pipestone and Griswold, as well as ones further afield, such as Selkirk, in search of new students. By the end of 1893 the school facilities had been extended to accommodate 88 students.⁴² Boys were now able to learn harnessmaking, tinsmithing, and storekeeping, bringing to six the number of trades available in the school. The Rev. Wilson established a brass band in the school in November 1893. It frequently

provided music at St. Mark's Anglican Church. In December of the same year Washakada took over publication of the Elkhorn Advocate. Its editor, W.J. Thompson, instructed the students in the printing trade.⁴³

The expansion of the trades courses necessitated the expansion of facilities. An addition, 40x36 feet (12x11 m) was constructed on the boys' department by contractor Broadley in 1894. This included a large dormitory and playrooms.⁴⁴

While the boys were being instructed in trades, attempts were made to instruct the girls in homemaking skills. Four departments: laundry work, kitchen work, sewing, domestic service, were part of the daily operating routine of the school. Each girl in turn took courses in each department, but eventually she was allowed to specialize in one area.⁴⁵

School records exist for the period 1888-1903. They give an indication of the level of the program's success. During this period the highest academic level attained by a student was grade five, which probably compared favourably with the average rural child. Many, however, never rose above grade one. The majority remained at the school for one to three years, but some stayed for as long as ten years. At leaving, most students were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, with the greater proportion being over twenty years.⁴⁶

After leaving, a few of the students were able to find employment in their trades, such as a harnessmaker in Virden, or a printer working in Selkirk. A few remained in Elkhorn as instructors at the school. A small percentage became farmers or ranchers on their reserves. Of the female students, the majority spent less than five years at the school, after which they returned to the reserve to marry. The records indicate that only two former female students were working in the outside world: one as a seamstress in Winnipeg and another as a cook there.⁴⁷

The Washakada School was destroyed by fire 13 November 1895. The loss was estimated to be \$10,000, with no insurance. Principal Wilson endeavoured to carry on the school's work in temporary quarters spread out all over Elkhorn. Under less than ideal conditions, the school remained alive for three years. The townspeople complained however, that the Indian schools

seem now to be conducted simply for the enjoyment of the staff and pupils. Boys are taken from honest trades which they have almost mastered and put back in the school to go driving, throwing snowballs, and play football. This is educating Indians with a vengeance. Is this the original object for which these homes were intended?⁴⁸

Fortunately, Wilson persuaded the Federal Department of Indian Affairs to construct a new school, which would now be under their administration. In the meantime, the government, as of March 1898, in an attempt to cut the school's operating expenses, decided to temporarily cease teaching

trades. The printing, bootmaking, and tailor shops were closed by Indian Affairs. W.J. Thomson, who had been the instructor for the print shop, now leased the printing shop and took responsibility for the printing of the Elkhorn Advocate.⁴⁷

Construction of a new school building, located west of Elkhorn on land identified today as Plan 76, blocks "K" and "L", commenced in 1897. The grand opening of the new Elkhorn Industrial School took place 7 September 1899. The Reverend A.E. Wilson once again acted as principal. The school was built "in the form of the letter "T", the front being largely used for school rooms and dormitories, and the wings for the kitchens, dining room, and staff quarters." The structure was of brick veneer with a stone foundation. The following description of the interior of the building appeared in the Elkhorn Advocate 14 September 1899.

Passing up a wide flight of steps the visitor enters through the front door into a wide hall, on the one side of which is the office of the school and on the other lies the waiting room for visitors. A stairway for the use of the staff goes from the hall to the two floors above. A hall crosswise to the entrance hall admits to the boys' schoolroom on the one end of the building and the girls' schoolroom on the other. As the main part of the building has an area of 114 feet by 36, these rooms are large and airy. Nearly the whole of the west wing is taken up with an immense dining hall, the part not devoted to this purpose being occupied by a small dining room, and a small sitting room for the use of the staff.⁵⁰

The basement, located wholly above ground, contained boys' and girls' entrances, bathrooms and washrooms for

each. storage rooms. fuel and furnace rooms. The back part of the basement was occupied by a kitchen. larder. pantries. and a dumb waiter. Stairways led directly from the basement and past the classrooms to the third and fourth floor dormitories. Each dormitory was 36 feet (11 m) square and accommodated 30 students. The rear wing of these two floors was occupied by staff, with a sick room as well.

The heating was by hot water furnaces. The top floor had a large water tank built into the framework. Not only did it supply water for the heating system. but it also acted as a safeguard against fire.⁵¹

Descriptions of school life in this new building. written by students. still exist. and provide this composite picture.⁵²

Students attended classes in alternating four-hour shifts. and spent the remainder of the time working in one of the shops. or on the farm. Students rose by 6:00 A.M. and meals were served at 6:00 A.M., 12:00 P.M., and 5:30 P.M. Bedtime was either 8:30 or 9:30 P.M., depending on one's age and the season. The boys wore dark blue uniforms with brass buttons. The girls wore dark blue dresses trimmed with red. All attended St. Mark's Church on Sundays. Sports were very popular in the school. The school's hockey team proudly beat Virden and Elkhorn's teams in 1901 and 1902. giving the school permanent possession of the Middleton Cup.

The outside buildings consisted of a principal's residence, a laundry, gymnasium with shoe shop and carpentry shop, a granary, an implement shed, and a coal shed. A windmill pumped water out of the school to drain in a slough several yards away. On these premises as many as 100 students from various reservations trained to be farmers, blacksmiths, seamstresses, carpenters, harnessmakers, and bakers, under a staff of approximately eight people. The students returned to the reserves for holidays.

In 1909 there were six other Indian Industrial schools operating in Western Canada, all administered by churches with financial aid from the federal government. These were located at Battleford, Red Deer, St. Joseph, Brandon, Qu'Appelle, and Regina. The largest was at Qu'Appelle, which had 240 students. Brandon had 100 pupils. Elkhorn was the third largest, with 83 residents. The population of the other schools ranged from 50-69. The administration of these schools by churches often confused the issue of educating Indians. The church wanted to concentrate on religious education while the government and many citizens wanted to see the Indians provided with a neutral education, aimed at assimilation into white society. The work done by Elkhorn Industrial School, in spite of its high operating costs, was seen as a fine blend of these two schools of thought.⁵³

To emphasize the government's satisfaction with the school's efforts, around 1909 an additional quarter section

of land was purchased adjoining the school, giving the school control of SE5-12-28 and SW4-12-28. The eastern one-half of 32-11-28 was leased as well.⁵⁴ Farming became an important part of the school's program. Renovations to the main building, valued at \$23,000, were carried out by Snyder Brothers of Portage la Prairie in 1912. These included a three-storey and basement rear extension to the main building.⁵⁵

By 1918 the school was experiencing difficulty in attracting students from the reservations, where Indian parents were demanding the establishment of day schools for their children. That year arrangements were made to transfer many of the furnishings of the Elkhorn School to other Indian schools such as McKay School in The Pas.⁵⁶ The Elkhorn school was officially closed in 1919. The reason given was that Elkhorn School

was the only such institution conducted wholly by the government, all others being operated by the churches with financial aid from the government. The cost of conducting this single government institution was very much higher than the per capita grants paid to denominational schools, and was therefore a constant mark for envious comparisons.⁵⁷

Figures released in 1909 show Elkhorn's operating expenses at \$22,930, and Brandon's costs at \$14,345, in spite of the fact that Brandon had 20 more students than Elkhorn.⁵⁸

The lands and buildings of the Elkhorn Industrial School were transferred to the Soldier Settlement Board of

Canada to be used as a training centre for ex-servicemen. This effort met with little success. In 1921 the property was transferred back to Indian Affairs who suggested that the Church of England might like to take control of the "splendid buildings" and once again administer a school for Indian children. The government agreed to be responsible for the upkeep of the plant. The Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, while stressing the lack of present facilities for the training of Church of England children, cautioned:

Unfortunately the school is somewhat remote from the reserves from which pupils must be drawn, which are in the northern part of each of the provinces (Manitoba and Saskatchewan)....but the Department would be responsible for the cost of transportation of pupils. When the school was formerly in operation the Indians objected to sending their children so far away, although it might be considered that their objections were not very well founded. However, as the Indian Act now stands, we have the power to place their children in this or any other residential school.³⁹

The Missionary Society of the Church of England agreed to take control of the school on condition that additional agricultural land was added to the institution and that the federal government supplied the students.⁴⁰ Involved in the transfer of the land was a complete inventory made by the Missionary Society.⁴¹ According to this, the main building consisted of the 1897 building, 34x113 feet (10.3x34.4 m), with a rear addition 38x34 feet (11.5x10 m), to which a four-storey addition 33x44 feet (10x13 m) was made in 1912-3. The addition was of white brick with a stone foundation.

The interior lay-out of this building was similar to the original.

The new addition contained a dormitory for 42 boys on the third floor, a three-room hospital ward on the second floor, a kitchen, a pantry, and a staff dining room on the ground floor, a dairy room, storage room, and boys' playroom in the basement.

The grounds also contained: a two-storey brick-veneered light and power house, 28x32 feet (8.5x9.7 m), used as a laundry; a septic tank frame pumphouse; a brick storehouse; a two and one-half storey frame principal's residence, 29x36 feet (8.8x11 m); a farm instructor's frame house, 24x36 feet (7.3x11 m), with a veranda; a carpenter's frame cottage, 24x36 feet (7.3x11 m); a gymnasium 36x60 feet (11x18 m) containing a carpenter's shop, paint shop, cobbler's shop, lumber room, and boys' recreation room; a barn; a silo; two stables; one granary; one piggery; one poultry house; and one implement shed. Attached to the school were 320 acres (129.5 ha) of land comprised of SW4-12-28 and SE5-12-28. The buildings stood about 300 yards (274 m) from the train station, a circumstance that errant students always put to practical use.

While the Missionary Society of the Church of England and the Indian Affairs Department were ironing out the details for the school's reopening, the farmland was leased to Earl Dixon of Elkhorn. Permission was also granted to Lt.

Col. Knight of Hargrave to use the school for drilling a troop of the Border Horse Regiment.⁴²

Renovation of the school began in August 1923 under contractor Wvatt of Winnipeg. Approximately \$4100 was spent on repairs and the installation of electricity.⁴³

The Indian Affairs Department, although it was ready "to actively assist in the recruiting of pupils for the Elkhorn School, insisted that the onus of the responsibility should rest on church authorities". A suggestion was made that the Church spend the summer recruiting in the Prince Albert and Battleford areas in Saskatchewan, the Fairford, Peguis, Brokenhead, and Black River reserves in Manitoba, and the Lac Seul District in Ontario. Indian agents in Saskatchewan and Ontario were also instructed to recruit orphans and destitute Protestant children for the school.⁴⁴

Although the Church had suggested reopening the school as a centre of secondary education for the brighter pupils from other residential schools, the school was reopened in January 1924 instead as a regular residential school. Now known as Elkhorn Anglican Residential School, the institution had 150 students and was under the direction of the Reverend F.Eley.⁴⁵

Emphasis was placed on farming, gardening, and dairying. Students spent half a day learning the Department of Education curriculum, and the other half working with the Holstein cows, and attending to the horse barns, piggery,

etc. The girls worked in the laundry, sewing room, bakery, or dairy for half the day.

During the next twenty years the Church and the Indian Affairs Department were constantly involved in recruiting hassles. Indian parents often refused to allow their children to return to school, claiming they were not being properly fed or kept clean. Constant inspections were made of the school's facilities, in hopes of allaying the fears of the Indian people. Most often the Indian Commissioner ordered the children be returned to school, claiming "he will use the services of the police if necessary."⁴⁴

Discontent peaked in the spring of 1944 when a delegation of Indian parents from The Pas lodged an official complaint concerning the conditions at the school and politely asked that other educational arrangements be made for their children.⁴⁵ An inspector visited the premises and reported that the school had been without a principal for several months, and "things were in hopeless condition". Children were running away, plumbing facilities were in bad need of repair, and only an active alert businessman could handle the staff and administer discipline.⁴⁶

It was discovered that some of the truancies were related to discrimination. The Secretary of the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission reported:

We are taking up strongly with the principal of Elkhorn Public School [Anglican Residential School] the matter of discrimination and unfair criticism which led to the truancy of the older girls. This is not an isolated example and

certainly suggests one of the difficulties under which our boarding schools labour. The location of the Elkhorn School is far from ideal in this connection and the proximity both to highway and railway make it easy for children to run away when they are upset in any way.⁴⁹

The Indian Inspector strongly feared that if the school were

left open under present conditions, the children would continue to run away, someone will be frozen to death or killed in riding the trains. To permit present conditions to continue will eventually not only bring severe public criticism on the Indian Affairs Branch but serve no useful purpose in uplifting or helping the Indians.⁵⁰

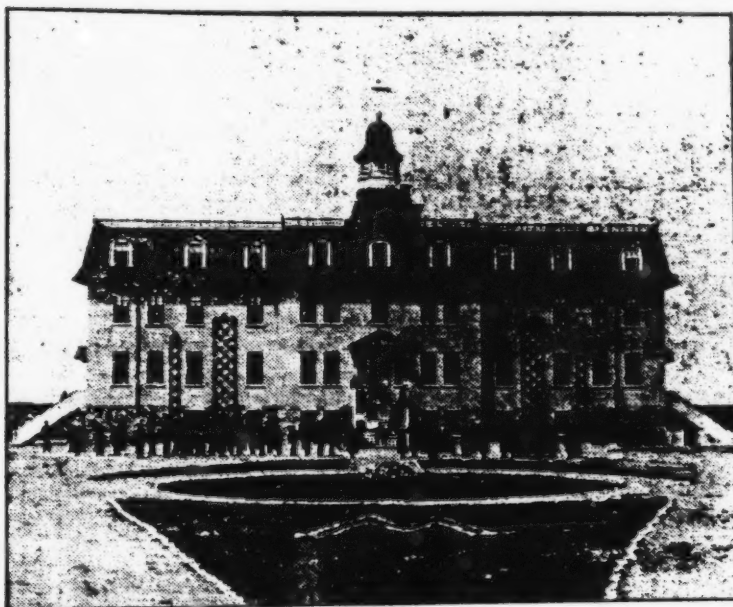
For their part, while acknowledging the desperate need for a new principal, the Church Missionary Society placed the blame for present problems on overcrowded conditions resulting from the destruction by fire of the McKay School in The Pas in March 1933. Because the Indian Affairs Department had not supported the rebuilding of the northern school, from which area roughly one-half of the Indian residential students came, "bush children" were being educated in an unfamiliar prairie setting like Elkhorn. The Secretary of the Church Missionary Society complained:

We have one of our best school farms at this point [Elkhorn] and there is no doubt that the pupils receive valuable training in it, but this is not worth much to boys who are returning to a hunting and trapping life, and will not have the opportunity of using their agricultural knowledge. The more serious objection lies in the undoubted fact that they lose the opportunity of learning the very things needed for the kind of life they will probably live, through being entirely removed from the bush environment in a number of years.⁵¹

A new principal was found, repairs were made, and the school continued to function with over 100 students. But the many years of neglect, combined with the continued reticence of northern Indians to send their children so far afield, brought a church decision in June 1948 to close the main building and cut the pupilage in half.⁷²

This was a forerunner of the decision to close the school entirely in June 1949. The Village of Elkhorn was given the opportunity to acquire the property. In September 1950 the government disposed of the property to the Village for the low price of \$8302, in the hopes that it would be used for public and welfare purposes. The Village Council promptly advertised the sale of the school buildings by tender. The nineteen buildings sold for a total of \$18,218. Most of the buildings were moved to other locations. The main building, purchased by Williams, Schlorff and Graham of Rivers for \$5100, was to be dismantled. These contractors, as part of their tender, promised to construct three houses in the village on property proposed either by the town or by potential buyers. Demolition of the main building was undertaken by members of the Plainsview Hutterite Colony in May 1951.⁷³

While the school property in the R.M. of Wallace was sold in 1951, the village of Elkhorn retained control of the forty-four acres (17.8 ha) within its jurisdiction. At one point it was thought that a hospital might be constructed on



Washakada Indian Home, Elkhorn, 1902 (Source: Winnipeg Daily Tribune,
20 August 1902, p. 7.)

the land. The site, still containing remnants of the foundations of the old school, remains the property of the village of Elkhorn. It is a reminder of the importance the existence of the Indian School once played in the development of a small prairie town. From 1888-1948, the school was the only secondary industry, and a major source of employment in Elkhorn.

E. Commercial Buildings

1. Viriden Auditorium

The complex known as Viriden Auditorium was built in two stages. The first structure was a fire-townhall building constructed of brick during 1894-95. It was a two-storey edifice with a prominent mansard-roofed bell tower. On the main floor were located a jail and stalls for fire equipment. On the second level were the village offices, council room, and county court rooms. Designed by W.A.Irish, it was constructed by John Saul for approximately \$4200. This fire hall was demolished in December 1981.

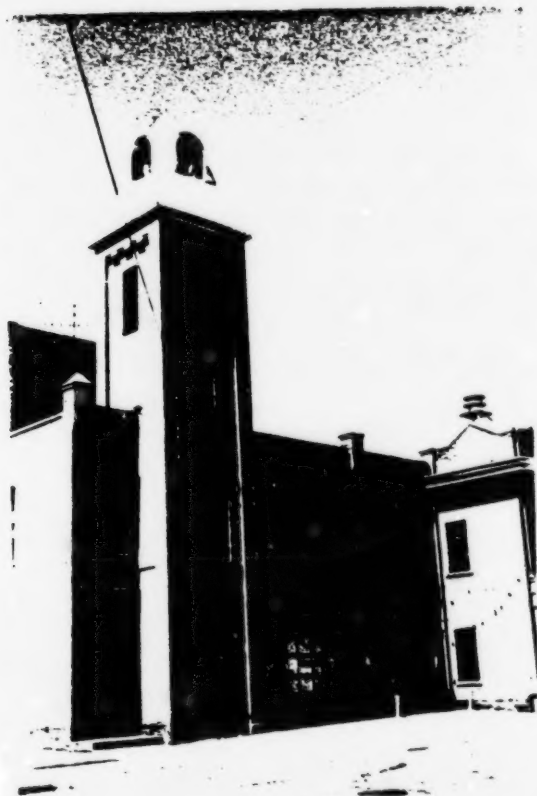
By 1911 the town of Viriden had outgrown the 1895 facility. A pressing need for some form of public hall resulted in the erection of a large structure adjoining the 1895 edifice. Designed by Brandon architect W.A.Elliott, and built by Viriden contractor W.T.Manser, the Wellington Street front of the new building featured the town office section. At the rear was a large theatre called the auditorium. The

auditorium was capable of seating about one-third of the town's population, and was considered by the Brandon Sun to be the best opera house or auditorium between Winnipeg and Regina. As the ambitious effort of a small town, it was provided with many modern conveniences such as a gallery, dressing rooms, a proscenium arch, and very good accoustics. The cost was \$32,219.⁷⁴

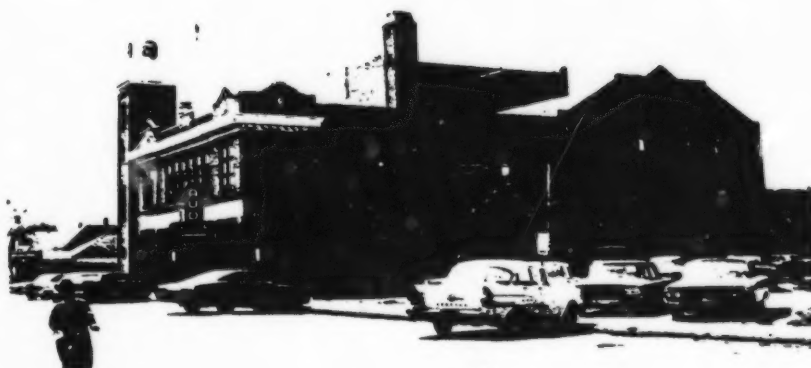
The theatre quickly became the centre of Virden's cultural and social life. Various local theatre groups presented entertainments here, as did visiting troupes of actors and musicians. The "Aud", as it was known, retained its importance as a cultural centre until the late 1960's when its condition began to deteriorate and other halls and school auditoriums offered greater space for the expanding population of Virden.

The Virden Auditorium stands on lots 11-14, Block 101, on Wellington Street. It is the oldest remaining example of a municipally owned theatre-recreation facility in Manitoba. When built, it fit into a small handful of such buildings that were chiefly erected by larger, more established centres. The Virden Auditorium became a symbol of the town's expectations of 1912. These expectations were only realized after 1950.

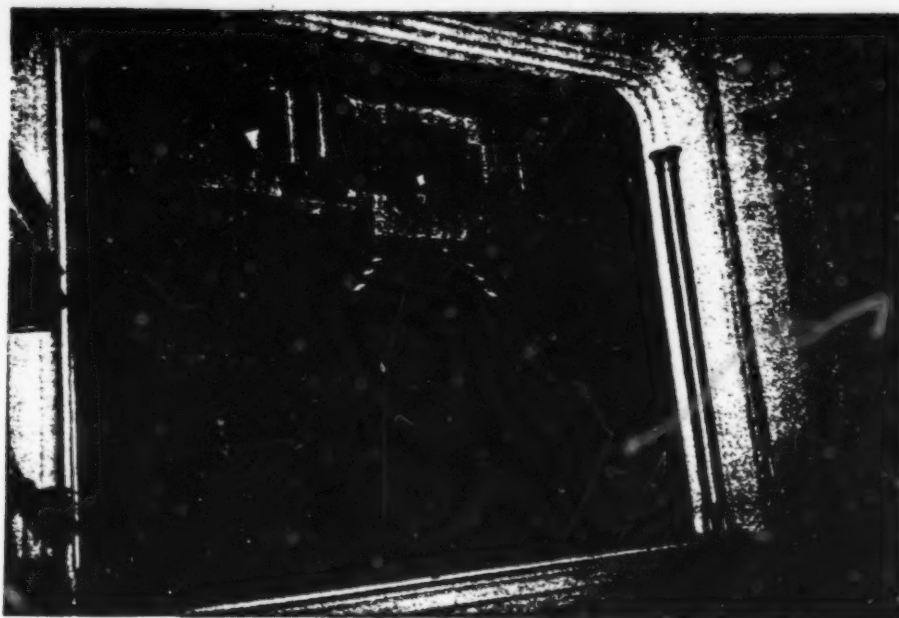
The Town and Province have agreed to the designation of the complex as a provincial hertiage site under the Heritage Resources Act.



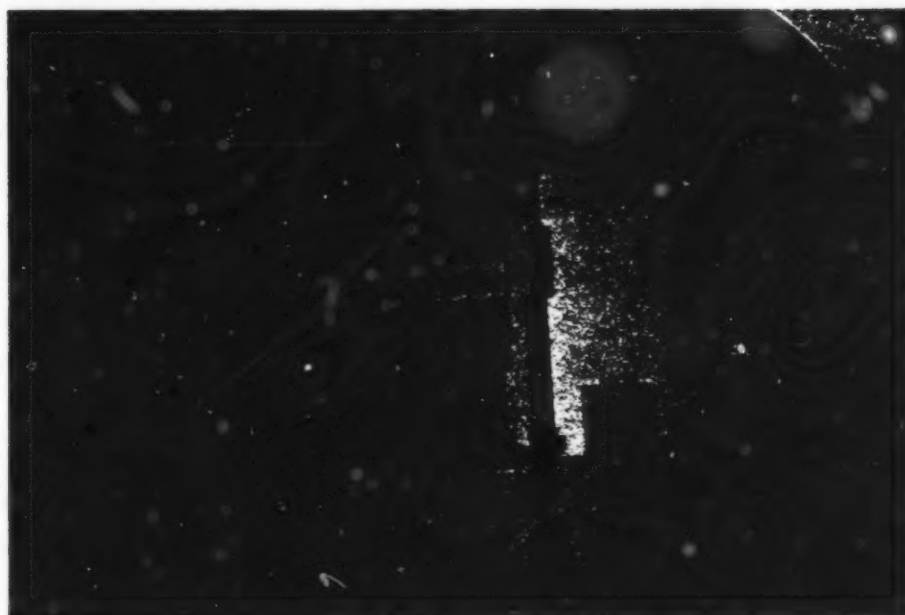
Virden Firehall, 1967. This building was the original portion of the Auditorium complex. Built in 1895, it was demolished in 1981. (Source: P.A.M.)



Virden Auditorium, Townhall, and Firehall, 1967. The Firehall and Tower portion was built in 1895; the remainder in 1912. The latter portion is still in use today. (Source: P.A.M.)



Interior, Virden Auditorium, 1985.
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)



Interior, Virden Auditorium, 1985
(Source: Historic Resources Branch)

2. The Virden Empire-Advance

Not only is the Virden Empire-Advance the oldest surviving commercial enterprise in Virden-Wallace, it is also a reflection of the spirit of the community upon which it has reported since June 1885.

The Virden Empire-Advance is actually the amalgamation of three early newspapers: the Virden Advance, the Virden Banner, and the Virden Empire.

The first newspaper to go "to press" in Virden was the Virden Advance which appeared in June 1885. This paper was owned by C.J. Atkinson of Portage la Prairie. Its editor was W.H. Hall, who later purchased the paper. The Minnedosa Tribune reported in 1885: "The first number of the Virden Advance is to hand. It is a very neatly printed sheet well-filled with a spicy collection of local news."⁷⁶

The newspaper reported on the progress of the C.P.R. building crews, but also contained interesting accounts of the farmlands broken by early settlers.

Believing that a description of some of the farms around Virden will be of interest to our readers, especially to those reading at a distance, we have determined to visit some of them and from time to time to give a short account in the Advance.⁷⁷

Hall maintained:

Politically our position is a neutral one. We take little stock in the so-called "independent" paper. It is usually an attempt to please everyone and results in pleasing no one...In a locality like this, however, which is able only to support one paper, we consider it unjust to one party to advocate the interests of the other, hence our neutral position.⁷⁷

But very soon the Advance was not the only paper in town. On 12 May 1892 there appeared the Viriden Chronicle under editor James N. McDonald, promising "to range the Chronicle on the side of right and always to the utmost oppose the wrong".⁷⁸ For two years the two newspapers coexisted in an atmosphere of mutual disesteem, until the Advance charged that the Town Council had paid the Chronicle an unnecessarily high amount for publishing its financial statement because it had failed to grant the job by public tender. Thereupon a feud developed, ending with the final issue of the Chronicle on 14 June 1894. In this issue, the editor explained:

Although the village of Viriden has made wonderful progress, in many ways, yet the time has not yet come when it can properly support two newspapers. Therefore, recognizing this fact, and seeing a more profitable field open to us, we have finally decided to leave the field to the Advance, who, we have no doubt, can afford that enlightenment concerning the village's interest which is needed.⁷⁹

The Advance did not enjoy its lofty position long. On 27 June 1895 there appeared a new rival. The Viriden Banner, edited by E.H. Garrison who soon claimed to have "the biggest circulation in Dennis County."⁸⁰

The Advance continued to report the growth of not only Viriden but the surrounding districts. Correspondents related the news from Penrith, Daybreak, Woodnorth, Hillside, Blair, Elm Valley, Mayville, and Oak Lake, all beyond the

boundaries of Wallace. W.H.Hall appeared to be at his zenith as editor when suddenly, 27 February 1896, a new editor D.J.Benham, appeared, along with the following valedictory from Hall.

Nearly eleven years ago I arrived in Virden to establish the Virden Advance with the announced determination of conducting it at all times in the interests of temperance, morality, and the well-being of the district it was established to serve. From that date I have not swerved a hair's breadth from that policy, but in season and out of season, in the face of continued and determined opposition and hostility, I have continued to advocate those principles that I firmly believe to be right, and even though now, owing to this opposition, I am compelled to relinquish this newspaper I have built up with so much labour, I do so not without regret but with a clear conscience that I have at all times endeavored to do right according to my best judgement without fear or favour from anyone or any influence.²¹

The Advance continued to prosper but something was lost. Soon the Banner ceased publication and its editor joined Benham on the Advance.

On Thursday, 13 July 1905 there appeared a new challenger, the Virden Empire published by J.A.McLachlan and J.S.McClelland. The new paper believed Virden and the district surrounding it enjoyed enough prosperity that during the last few years they "have advanced to the point which makes it possible, and from our point of view, desirable, that another newspaper should be published here."²² The Empire appointed correspondents in all the outlying districts and announced its policy of "promotion

and advancement of any part of our district or the province of Manitoba."⁸³

The Advance had met its match. In two short years the Empire had brought the forerunner to its knees. On 20 September 1907 the editor of the Advance, D. Will Yuill announced that "The Advance will be united under the control of Mr. McLachlan."⁸⁴ The Virden Empire-Advance appeared for the first time 3 October 1907.

The newspaper continued its policy of supporting Virden and district with such praises as:

Virden is distinctly pretty, one of the few towns in the busy west that has been at pains to beautify herself....

Its growth and prosperity is interwoven with and dependent upon, the development of its surrounding farms and the consequent relationship with the world that buys. What the soil has done has been evident for years in the very excellent fairs that have been held annually by the Agricultural Society.⁸⁵

The forum for discussion created by J.A. McLachlan's editorials on the needs of Virden was instrumental in the building of the Virden's hospital in 1906. Through his paper, McLachlan also initiated and supported the creation of a new school, a collegiate, granolithic sidewalks, an electric lighting plant, a larger skating rink, and Virden's municipal building containing the auditorium.

The last was largely his project. Known as Jack's White Elephant, J.A. set out to prove that the auditorium could pay its own way. He formed a partnership and ran it for several years at a

profit. It continued to pay for itself long after the partnership was dissolved."⁶⁴

The outbreak of World War I saw two per cent of Virden's population leave their loved ones behind and march off to fight for freedom, never to return. The Empire-Advance united the entire town in the "just" cause, as it viewed it. The paper was filled with obituaries for those killed, and welcomes for those who returned, appeals to women to knit and sew for their men overseas, and advertisements to buy war bonds.

The outbreak of World War II witnessed a change in the outlook of both the Empire-Advance and the citizens whose moods it interpreted.

Gone were the page-wide banner headlines, the half-page sized civilian war-theme advertisements, and the cover-to-cover coverage by foreign syndicated columnists.... One can only speculate as to the reasons for this quieting down by the Empire-Advance. As a newspaper only reflects the atmosphere in which it operates, perhaps it could be deduced that Virden was a war-weary community. It was proud to do its share but had come of age since the adolescent experience of the horrors of World War I.⁶⁷

The drilling for oil in the district was handled by the newspaper in a cautious manner. It was almost as if the new prosperity which oil would bring, if indeed it was found, was only as it should be, another expected step in Virden's march of progress. The Winnipeg Free Press questioned this calmness, describing Virden's reaction as "hush-hush, and

you'd think a funeral was in prospect instead of a boom for the area." To this the Empire-Advance replied:

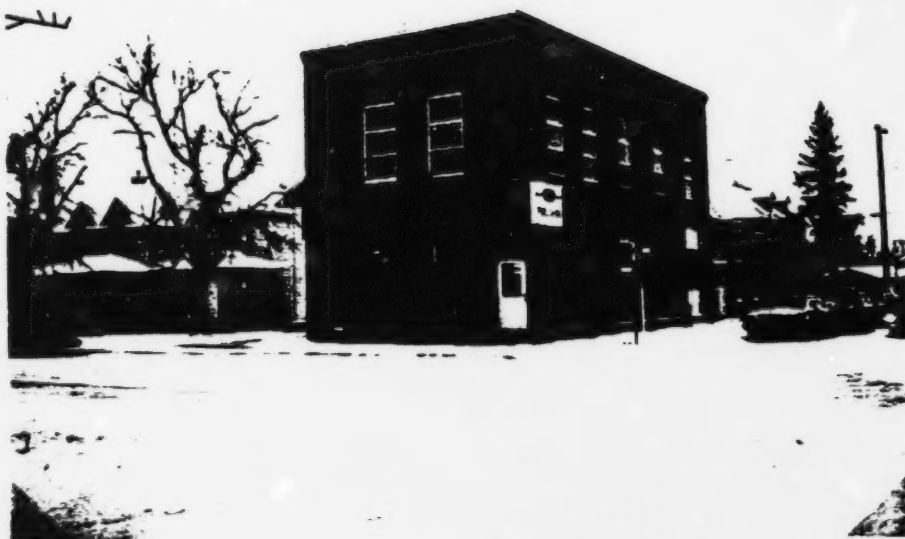
We think that this reporter and other visitors do not know Virden people. We are, all of us, excited but it must be remembered that a good many of the people here are of Scottish extraction, a race noted for its caninness and coolheadedness. We talk a lot, maybe dream a bit, look ahead to the activity that is bound to develop during the spring and summer, but we do not go wildly off the deep end. When we are sure there is something to celebrate - we'll celebrate. Not before.

...We know that problems lie ahead - problems of housing, school accommodation, among others, and we are going to be ready to meet and solve these problems when the time comes.™

The newspaper was echoing the pragmatism of her readers. Only after the oil had begun to flow in earnest did they allow themselves some euphoria. Even then, they saw the boom only in terms of the positive changes it would impose on the lives of Virdenites. The editor of the Empire-Advance mused:

Prospects for Virden in 1955 are bright indeed. There is reason to believe much progress will be made during the year ahead - progress in material things, progress in sport, in cultural matters, in things of the spirit. This year promises to be a busy one for the citizens of the community.™

Through the years the Empire-Advance was operated by J.A.McLachlan's sons, J.R. and D.W.McLachlan. In 1965 the Empire-Advance swallowed up its last rival in Wallace when the Elkhorn Mercury was amalgamated with the paper. The newspaper remained a family-owned newspaper until 1984 when it was purchased by Torbin Larson, an employee who had



Offices of Virden Empire-Advance, Virden, 1985. (Source: Historic Resources Branch)

joined the firm in 1958. He retained the name Empire Publishing Company.

The Virден Empire-Advance has always occupied a two-storey brick building on Lot 40, Block 116, at the corner of Eighth Avenue and Nelson Street. Here, the newspaper's staff have for approximately seventy-nine years (excluding the years spent elsewhere as the Virден Advance) undertaken to maintain the standards of loyal service set by their predecessors.

Many of these earlier papers carry unmistakable signs of being produced under difficulties, with tools poor and machinery and other equipment crude and primitive, judged by modern standards - but all bear the imprint of skillful craftsmanship despite mechanical limitations, and most of them were edited by men whose writings show vigor and fearless devotion to their community's welfare.⁹⁰

F. Military Establishments

1. Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons

Virден's citizenry have always displayed a great deal of militaristic pride. This was undoubtedly related to the presence in the district of many former British military men, such as Colonel E.A. Hosmer of Maple Farm and Captain Routledge of Bosshill Farm. These men were responsible for the establishment of a unit which grew into the Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons. Until 1964 when the Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons were absorbed into the Twenty-Sixth Field Regiment, it was the oldest continuing militia unit in Manitoba.

The origin of this unit may be traced to the formation of the Virden Home Guard in the spring of 1885, during the stirring times of the North West Rebellion. Led by Captain Thomas Routledge, and trained at Bosshill Farm, the militia unit was known as No. 2 Company, Winnipeg Battalion, Manitoba Light Infantry.

At the end of the Rebellion the Home Guard remained in existence. Due to the efforts of Colonel E.A. Hosmer the unit was converted in 1893 into the Manitoba Dragoons with "A" Squadron at Virden and "B" Squadron at Portage la Prairie. At that time the unit was led by Colonel Hosmer and Lieutenant Elohistone. The unit was armed with swords and Winchester rifles, and uniformed in red serge with white facings, black breeches, with a double white stripe, and round forage hats.⁹¹

The unit annually went into training camp in May-June at Brandon. Originally the men rode their horses to the camp, but beginning in 1906 men and horses travelled by train. The training schedule was vigorous enough to result in "'A" Troop Manitoba Dragoons of Virden being declared the best troop of cavalry in the union". An additional honour was granted to Lieutenant Elohistone A.D.C. who was selected to lay the Governor General's dispatches before the Queen in 1895.⁹² It is difficult to ascertain if this honour accrued from his military prowess, or the prestige accorded him as the son of Lord Elohistone, who was related to the Royal Family.

A petition was sent to the Minister of Defense and Militia in spring 1900, requesting that Squadron "A" Manitoba Dragoons be changed into Mounted Rifles. Colonel Hosmer gave as reasons for the request the fact that the Dragoons were the most expensive corp of service to maintain. Significant also was the existence of expert marksmen in the district, such as the members of the Lippentott Rifle Club in southwest Wallace. He suggested that it would be easy to recruit new members from the district, expecting an immediate quota of fifty men in Virden, and twenty-five each from Oak Lake and Elkhorn.⁹³ The squadron was renamed the Canadian Mounted Rifles on 1 June 1901. Along with four other squadrons of Mounted Rifles, it formed the Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons, 1 July 1903.⁹⁴

The Manitoba Dragoons contributed volunteers to the Canadian Contingent during the South African (Boer) War 1899-1902.

The Mounted Rifles were redesignated as the Twentieth Border Horse 1 March 1910. When war broke out in 1914, this unit had squadrons in Virden and Souris.⁹⁵ At this time the regiment placed itself at the service of General Sam Steele, the Canadian Minister of Militia. Unfortunately, no complete militia regiments were being accepted. Instead the Twentieth Border Horse was placed on active service for local protective duty. The regiment also contributed to the Sixth Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force, on its formation in

September 1914. The Sixth Battalion was reorganized in England in March 1915 and provided reinforcements for the Canadian corps in the field. Thus Virden district men were represented in many regiments overseas.

In 1921 and again in 1935 the Border Horse were reorganized. Latterly, the Border Horse was disbanded for the purpose of amalgamation and reorganization in the name of the Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons.

The declaration of war in 1939 found the regiment recruited to full strength with regimental headquarters at Virden. Regular training was carried out and the usual camp periods were undertaken. From 1939 onward there was a continuous drain of officers, non-commissioned officers (N.C.O.'s), and men to active service. Finally, in 1942 all ranks were gratified when the Twelfth Dragoons were redesignated as the Eighteenth Armoured Car Regiment. The transition had finally been made from a cavalry unit suited for nineteenth century warfare to a more modern military unit reflecting twentieth century tactics.

The buffalo badge of the Twelfth Dragoons adorned the new regiment in the field. On 9 July 1944 the regiment landed in Normandy as a unit of the Second Canadian Corps. The regiment distinguished itself in the liberation of Europe. For the gift of freedom the Twelfth Dragoons brought to Bruges, Belgium, that city later presented a memorial stained glass window to St. Mary's Anglican Church in Virden.



Virden Company, Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons, c. 1900. Note hats hanging in tent. (Source: P.A.M.)



Virden Company, Twelfth Manitoba Dragoons, c. 1900. The company has mounted and therefore changed hats. (Source: P.A.M.)

The active unit of the regiment was disbanded 31 January 1946. The following year the Eighteenth Armoured Car Regiment (Twelfth Dragoons) Reserve Force was organized under the command of Lieutenant Colonel C.M. McLean, with regimental headquarters at Virden. Five squadrons were formed. These were located in Virden, Minnedosa, Souris, Birtle, and Neebawa.⁹⁴

This arrangement continued until 1964 when the military unit was absorbed by the Twenty-Sixth Field Regiment, bringing to an end Virden's long history of active participation in the defense of Canada.

During its many years in Virden, the Twelfth Dragoons occupied an armoury located on Lot 7, Block 103 on Seventh Avenue near Raglan Street. According to a 1907 report,

The Manitoba Dragoons keep here their impedimenta, where a gymnasium is conducted during the winter months and where delightful dances are given by the officers and men of "A" Squadron.⁹⁵

Cadets of the Thirteenth Field Battery R.C.A. (Militia) continued to occupy the armoury until April 1970 when it was closed. Subsequently the building was torn down to make room for the new post office which now occupies the site.

2. No. 19 Elementary Flying Training School, Virden

Even before the battles of World War II erupted, it was recognized that one of Canada's major roles in the war would be as a training ground where flight instructions could be

carried out away from the actual battle zone. On 17 December 1939 an agreement was reached between the governments of Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand to put the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP) into operation. The plan did the job beyond all expectations. In the years that followed, the BCATP transformed Canada into the "aerodrome of democracy". In the fifty-nine months of operation, approximately 360 schools and ancillary units were established at 231 sites across Canada, and 131,553 graduates in eight different air crew categories took their places in the air forces of Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand.⁹⁰

The overwhelming responsibility for establishing, administering, and operating the plan was placed on the shoulders of the RCAF which had a mere 4000 men and less than a dozen airports of its own. Added to these were the twenty-four airports built across Canada by the Department of Transport for Trans Canada Airways. This number was totally inadequate.

The Civil Aviation Branch of the Department of Transport undertook to build the many other flying schools needed. The selection of a site for an airfield depended upon a number of factors. First the site had to be flat and free of large obstructions. It had to have an ample water supply, good natural drainage, a strong cover of grass, to be in an area of reasonably good weather with access by road and rail, and to be fairly close to a populated area where

supplies and electrical power could be obtained. Further, it should be located where it would be able to contribute to Canada's growing air transportation system after the war. Virden met these qualifications. Moreover, Virden had been issued a license by the Dominion Air Board in 1920 to build an aerodrome. An airport, though small, was already in existence in the town.⁹⁹

Existing civilian flying clubs were entrusted with organizing and operating the Elementary Flying Training Schools (EFTS). This measure freed the RCAF from this obligation and allowed them to concentrate on specialized service training. Virden already had a small flying club which could act as a sponsor. On 8 November 1940 the Department of Defense signed an agreement with a civilian company, headed by J.R.Morgan, with financial support from businessmen in Winnipeg and Moose Jaw, establishing Virden Elementary Flying Training School No. 19.

Virden joined Portage la Prairie No. 14, which was established 28 October 1940, as the only two EFTS bases in Manitoba. In August 1942 a third such school opened in Neepawa, but by then Portage EFTS had been transformed into an air observer school.¹⁰⁰ Virden therefore became the only EFTS in Manitoba to operate throughout the war.

Other divisions of the BCATP included Service Training schools (to which EFTS students graduated), and various wireless, bombing and gunnery, air navigation, and air observer schools. In Manitoba, bases at Carberry, Brandon,

Rivers, Souris, Dauphin, and Gimli were all Service Flying Training Schools (SFTS).

Of the thirty-six EFTS bases established across Canada, all but one were under civilian management. This gave the schools two unique advantages. If necessary they could buy what they needed on the open market, and they enjoyed the full support of the surrounding community. Often the civilian managers were able to get spare aircraft parts directly from factories in Canada and the United States. Consequently, their training planes, though limited in number, were seldom grounded for lack of spare parts.

Because of their civilian organization, the elementary schools blended into the local communities which took pride in their operation. Some citizens contributed financially to their operation, while others were employed as mechanics, cooks, engineers, and labourers. The civilian operators always hired the best cooks and caterers for their bases. The quality of the meals on these bases far surpassed those of the military run service schools.

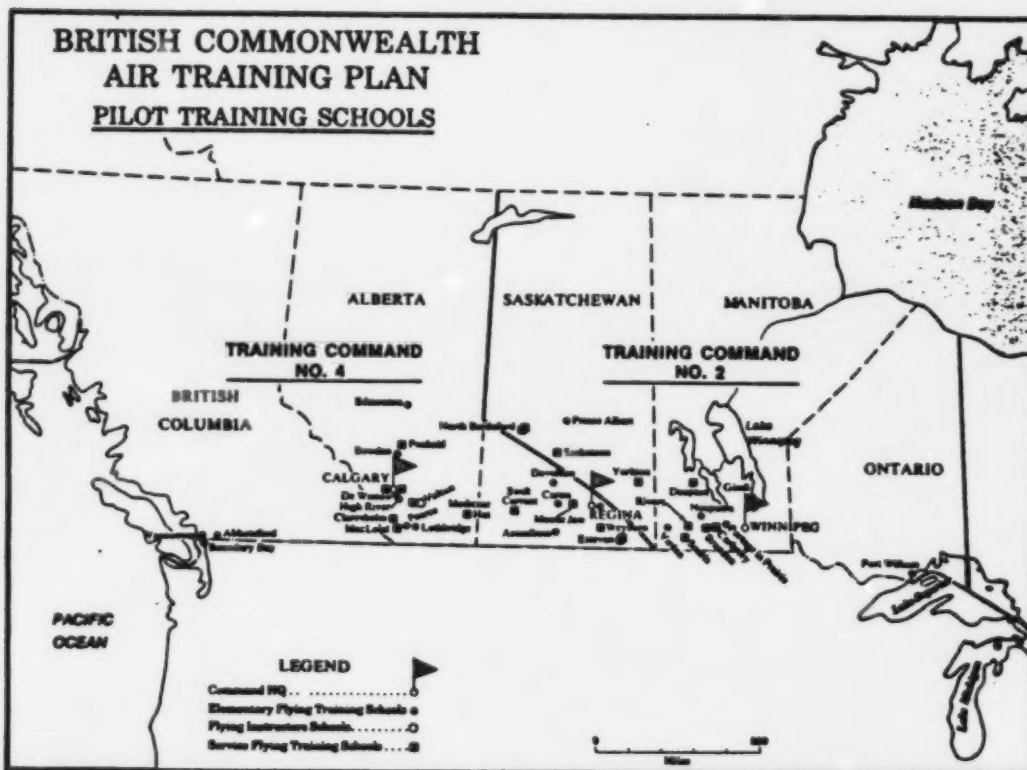
Following the inauguration of the Virden Flying Training School Company, Ltd. in November 1940, the civilian company spent the winter organizing and gathering flying instructors and a nucleus of staff. The civilian staff was between the ages of 16-84, and contained many veterans. It was the policy of Virden's school not to hire anyone subject to military call.

TABLE A-1

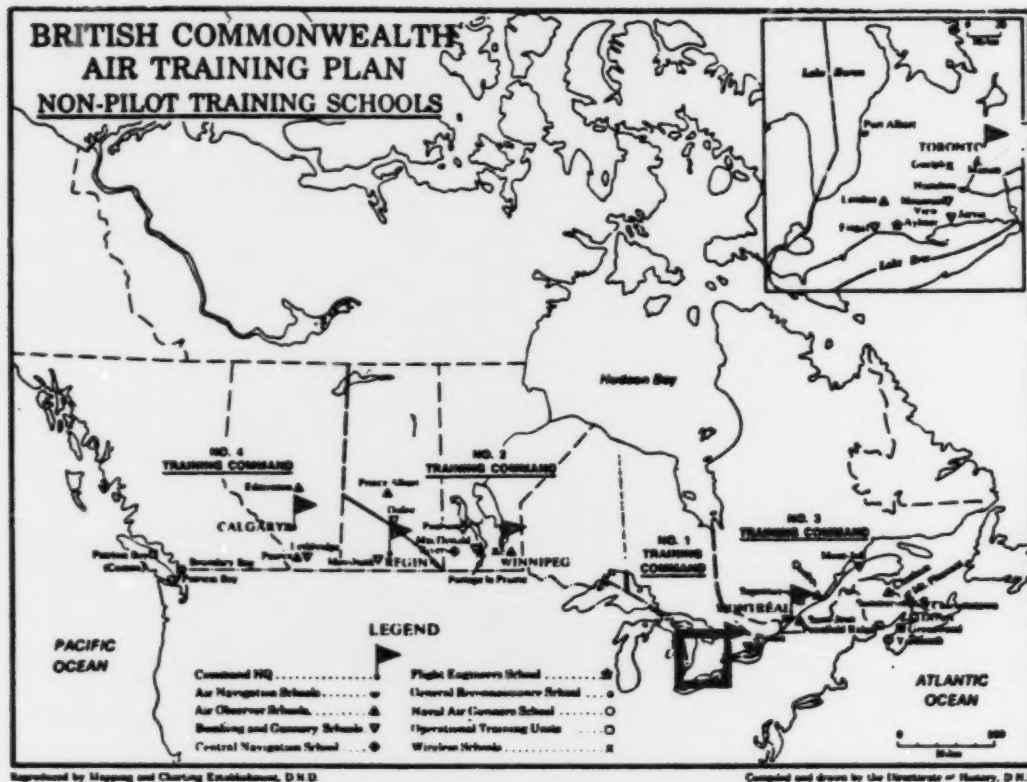
Elementary flying training schools and service flying training schools opened in 1940 and 1941, showing the original and advanced dates of opening and approximate acceleration.

EFTS	Location	Original Date	New Date	Acceleration
No. 1	Malton, Ont.	24 June	24 June	—
No. 2	Fort William, Ont.	24 June	24 June	—
No. 3	London, Ont.	19 August	24 June	8 weeks
No. 4	Windsor Mills, Qué.	19 August	24 June	8 weeks
No. 5	Lethbridge, Alta.	14 October	22 July	12 weeks
No. 6	Prince Albert, Sask.	14 October	22 July	12 weeks
No. 7	Windsor, Ont.	9 December	22 July	20 weeks
No. 8	Vancouver, BC	9 December	22 July	20 weeks
No. 9	St. Catharines, Ont.	17 February 1941	14 October	18 weeks
No. 10	Hamilton, Ont.	17 February 1941	14 October	18 weeks
No. 11	Cap de Madeleine, Qué.	3 March 1941	14 October	20 weeks
No. 12	Goderich, Ont.	3 March 1941	14 October	20 weeks
No. 13	St. Eugene, Ont.	31 March 1941	28 October	22 weeks
No. 14	Portage la Prairie, Man.	28 April 1941	28 October	24 weeks
No. 15	Regina, Sask.	28 March 1941	11 November	18 weeks
No. 16	Edmonton, Alta.	7 July 1941	11 November	32 weeks
No. 17	Stanley, NS	7 July 1941	17 March	16 weeks
No. 18	Boundary Bay, BC	18 August 1941	10 April	13 weeks
No. 19	Virden, Man.	27 October 1941	16 May	21 weeks
No. 20	Oshawa, Ont.	8 December 1941	21 June	23 weeks
No. 21	Chatham, NB	16 February 1942	3 July	29 weeks
No. 22	Québec, Qué.	16 February 1942	29 September	18 weeks
SFTS	Location	Original Date	New Date	Acceleration
No. 1	Camp Borden, Ont.	22 July	22 July	—
No. 2	Ottawa, Ont.	2 September	5 August	4 weeks
No. 3	Calgary, Alta.	16 September	28 October	-6 weeks
No. 4	Saskatoon, Sask.	28 October	16 September	6 weeks
No. 5	Brantford, Ont.	9 December	11 November	4 weeks
No. 6	Dunnville, Ont.	20 January 1941	25 November	8 weeks
No. 7	McLeod, Alta.	3 February 1941	9 December	8 weeks
No. 8	Moncton, NB	14 April 1941	23 December	16 weeks
No. 9	Summerside, PEI	28 April 1941	6 January	15 weeks
No. 10	Dauphin, Man.	9 June 1941	5 March	12 weeks
No. 11	Yorkton, Sask.	23 June 1941	10 April	8 weeks
No. 12	Brandon, Man.	1 September 1941	16 May	14 weeks
No. 13	St. Hubert, Qué.	13 October 1941	1 September	4 weeks
No. 14	Aylmer, Ont.	22 December 1941	3 July	14 weeks
No. 15	Clareholm, Alta.	2 February 1942	8 June	32 weeks
No. 16	Hagersville, Ont.	13 April 1942	8 August	32 weeks

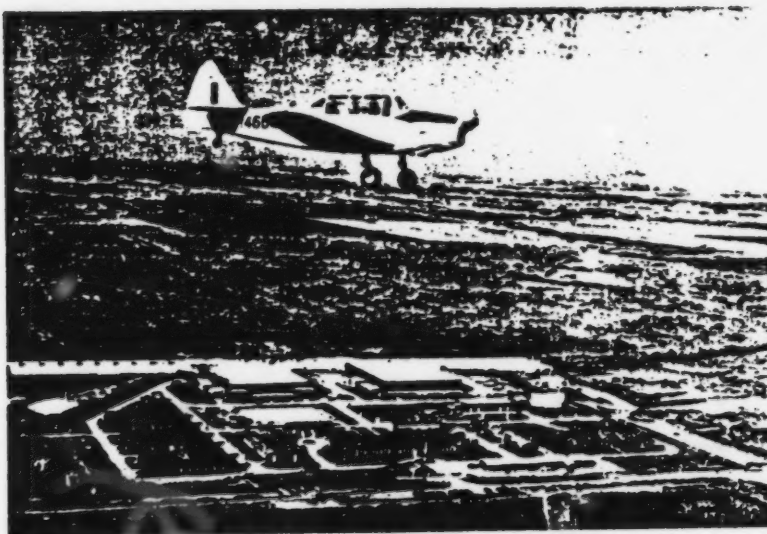
(Source: Hatch, F. J. Aerodrome of Democracy: Canada and the British Commonwealth Air Training Program).



(Source: Hatch, F. J. Aerodrome of Democracy: Canada and the British Commonwealth Air Training Program).



(Source: Hatch, F. J. Aerodrome of Democracy: Canada and the British Commonwealth Air Training Program).



No. 19 EFTS, Virden, Man. looking north. The grass covered field can be seen in the background with aircraft lined up outside the two small hangars. Overhead is a Fairchild Cornell trainer. (PMR 81-215)

(Source: Hatch, F. J. Aerodrome of Democracy: Canada and the British Commonwealth Air Training Program).

On 16 April 1941 when the first personnel arrived in Virden, they found the camp site. E1/2 34-10-26, two miles (3.2 km) north of town, afloat. The water and mud at the low site remained a problem until 1942 when the staff put in concrete walks and curbs and sodded all the spaces between buildings and roads. Even so, major flooding of the low lying field occurred nearly every spring. The field was so flooded in April 1943 that

instructors flew the Moths off the rims to the airport at Hartney where the students joined them by bus. For several days the routine continued, with the students travelling something like seventy miles daily by bus.¹⁰¹

The first students arrived in Virden in May 1941 and the same day six Tiger Moth aircraft arrived from Winnipeg for use as training planes. The buildings on the site increased yearly, until the site contained two hangars, a recreation hall, a large storage building, an administration building, and two two-storey dormitories. For recreation, officers, N.C.O.'s and airmen's lounges, riding stables, tennis courts, and a swimming pool were installed. To relieve the housing shortage in Virden and to bring rents back to normal, in 1942 the operating company erected 28 pre-fabricated houses.

The student population, at first 140, was increased to 180 in July 1942, and to 240 in April 1943. It remained at this level until the last elementary class graduated in June 1944. At EFTS, pilot candidates came face to face with their

first aeroplane, and the instructor would teach them how to fly it. At first the time table called for an eight-week course including 50 hours of flying time interspersed with 126 hours of ground lectures. This was later cut to seven weeks. When this was found to be inadequate, the eight-week course was reinstated in October 1941, with flying times increased to anywhere from 60-75 hours.

After eight hours of flying instruction, the student was supposed to undertake his first solo flight. On the final flying test the pilot was expected to carry out all normal aircraft maneuvers, to land well consistently, to fly with the aid of instruments alone, and to complete a cross country flight designed to test his skill in map reading and navigating. One of the tensest days at No. 19 was in the fall of 1942 when seventeen solo pilots who were returning home got caught by a sudden low overcast which eliminated the airport. None had more than thirty-hours flying time. Fortunately all forced landed safely on widely scattered farms in the district.¹⁰²

Not all students in the BCATP graduated as pilots. The wastage was between 20-25% at the elementary level, and between 10-12 1/2% for service training. At Virden a total number of 2700 pupils were graduated from a total pupil count of 3432.¹⁰³

The presence of the young airmen in Virden significantly raised her citizens' awareness of the war, and caused them to actively participate in it by buying war

bonds, and by operating a canteen, called the Victory Club, for the young men. Baseball and hockey matches were arranged between local teams and those from the base. Graduation of the first class established a tradition of a dinner provided by the Company, and a dance held alternately at the local Legion Hall or at the base. "with all the most beautiful girls from fifty miles around" in attendance.¹⁰⁴

Civilian instructors became more and more difficult to obtain as the war escalated. In December 1942 these gave way to RCAF instructors. The base, however, remained under civilian management. When the air training base in Virden closed in November 1944 there were almost 100 instructors, including many former students, on staff.¹⁰⁵

With the war's end the pre-war airfields were returned to the municipalities in which they were situated. Among these was Virden, which the Department of Transport turned over to the R.M. of Wallace. Although the airfield was retained as a municipal airport, most of the smaller buildings on the site were sold and moved elsewhere. The Town of Virden considered purchasing one of the hangars for removal to town to serve as a recreation centre in 1950. The project proved too expensive to be feasible.¹⁰⁶

Only one hangar remains at the site of the former EFTS base on E 1/2 34-10-26. This was used by Walden Industries, a machine manufacturing firm, briefly in the 1970's. Around 1980 the hangar was sold to Southward Industries which produces Marvel Brute Farm Storage Buildings.

Of the over 3000 young men from all over the Commonwealth, as well as some from occupied Europe, who spent a brief period of their lives in Virden at No. 19 EFTS, a great proportion lost their lives during the war. So widely spread was their area of service after leaving Virden and subsequent secondary training bases, that when the closing of No. 19 was announced in a service newspaper, a letter of regret was received from a pilot then stationed at an American air base in the far southwestern Pacific region. He had been one of the first three instructors to report to the civilian company in 1941, one of those who "helped establish and make a fact the school's aim and slogan through three and a half crowded years: More and Better Pilots."¹⁰⁷

LEGEND FOR MAP OF HISTORIC RESOURCES

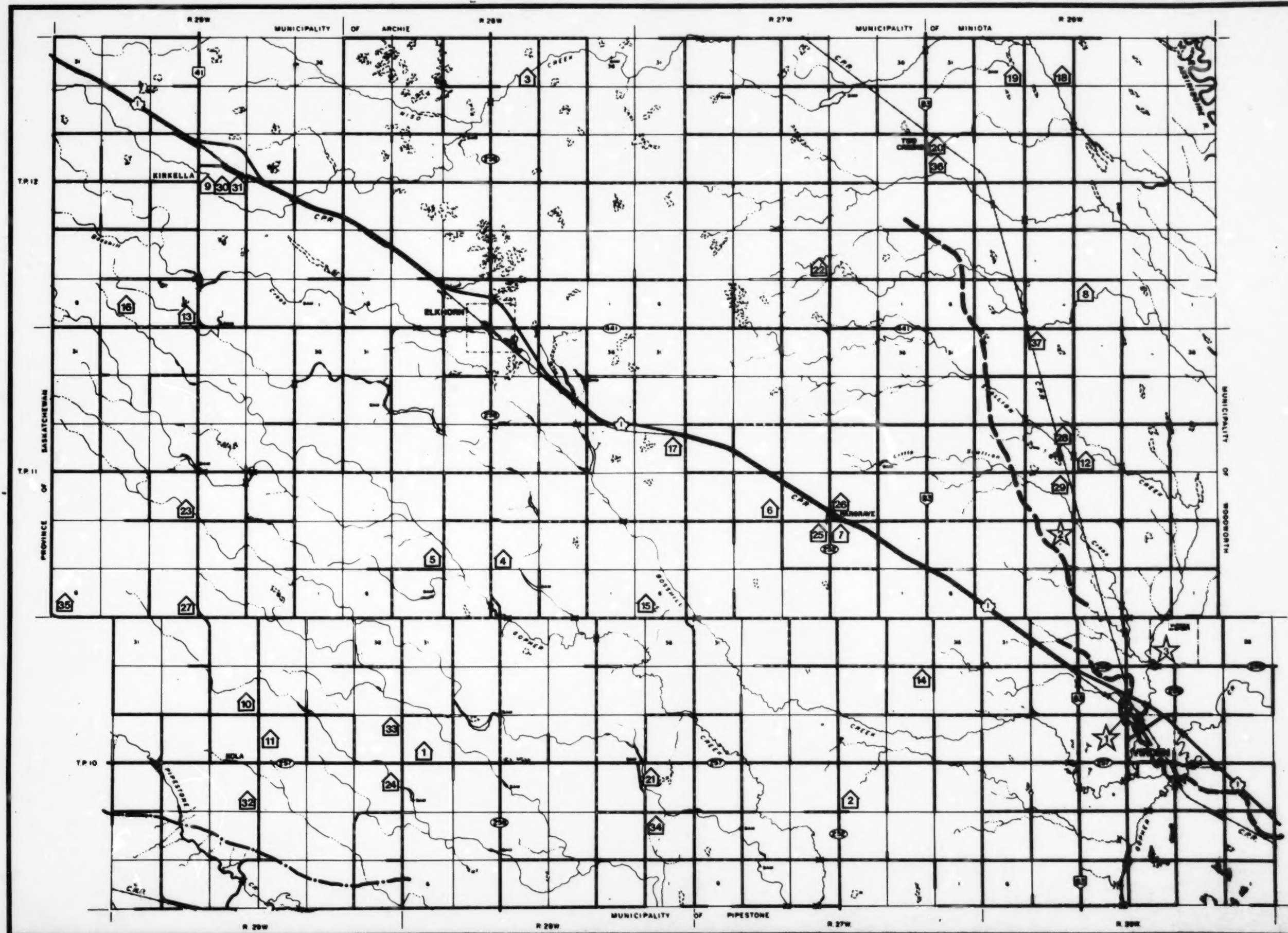
VIRDEN WALLACE PLANNING DISTRICT

Heritage Sites

1. Bosshill Farm
2. James Scallion Farm
3. No. 19 Elementary Flying Training School

Heritage Resources

1. Arawana School
2. Bosshill School
3. Burnbank School
4. First Buckingham School
5. Buckingham School
6. First Hargrave School
7. Hargrave School
8. Joslin School
9. Kirkella School
10. First Kola School
11. Kola School
12. Montgomery School
13. Mossgiel School
14. Pacific School
16. Plainsview Colony School
17. Reaper School
18. First Ross School
19. Ross School
20. Ross Consolidated School
21. Springvale School
22. Victor School
23. Woodville School
24. Church of the Advent, Kola
25. St. John the Baptist Anglican Church
26. St. Andrew Presbyterian/United Church
27. Woodville Presbyterian/United Church
28. Knox Presbyterian Church/Wallace United Church
29. Zion Methodist Church
30. Kirkella Presbyterian Church
31. St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church
32. Kola Post Office 1886-1892
33. Ebor/Arawana Post Office 1892-1923
34. Daly Post Office 1898-1927
35. Lippentott Post Office 1885-1895
36. Two Creeks Post Office
37. Harnsworth Post Office



VIRDELE PLANNING

R.M. OF

HISTORICAL RESOURCES

LEGEND

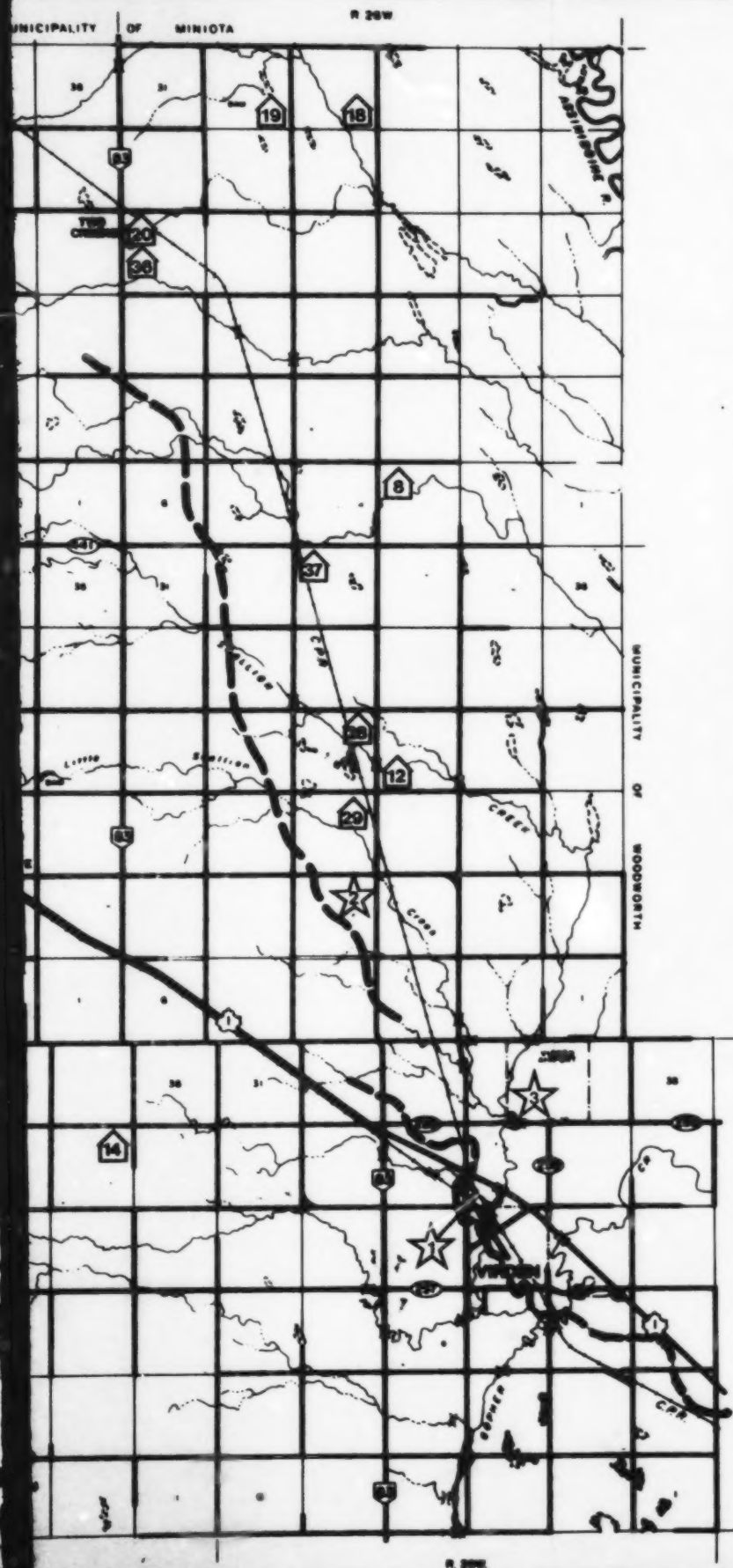
- HOUSE
- HISTORICAL SITE
- MAJOR ROAD
- FENCE

SOURCE: Historical Resources Survey



Manitoba
Municipal Planning

DATE: SEPTEMBER 1981
DRAWING NO. 001-1



VIRDEN - WALLACE PLANNING DISTRICT

R.M. of WALLACE

HISTORIC RESOURCES

LEGEND

-  HERITAGE RESOURCES
-  HERITAGE SITES
-  MOOSE MOUNTAIN TRAIL
-  FORT ELLICE TRAIL SOUTH BRANCH

SOURCE: Historic Resources Branch



Manitoba
Municipal Affairs
Municipal Planning



DATE: SEPTEMBER /1986
DRAWING No. 921-05-101U

21

ENDNOTES

II. An Overview of the Development of Virden-Wallace Planning District

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4. Elkhorn Advocate, 17 November 1892; 2 August 1906.
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14. Township General Register.
15. Ibid.
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20. Mossiel Guild History Book Committee, Mossiel Memories (Elkhorn, 1891), p. 51; Elkhorn and District Historical Society, Steel and Grass Roots, op. cit., p. 211.
21. John Langton Tyman, op. cit., p. 181.
22. Official Guidebook to the Lands of the Netherlands American Land Company (Winnipeg: Bishop Engraving Company, 1885), p. 9.
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24. Manitoba Morning Free Press, 21 June 1902, p. 17.
25. Ibid.
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28. Virden Advance, 3 August 1905, p. 1.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., 29 September 1892; 7 June 1894.
31. Ibid., 25 April 1895.
32. Ibid., 23 September 1886.
33. Virden Board of Trade, op. cit., p. 15.
34. Virden Advance, 7 July 1892.
35. Virden Empire-Advance, 7 January 1920.
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37. Ibid., 15 May 1957, p. 14.
38. Marion Siple, Elkhorn 1882-1967 (Elkhorn, 1967), p. 1.
39. Ida Clingan, The Virden Story (Virden Town Council, 1957), p. 226; Marion Siple, op. cit., p. 8; Henderson's Directory, op. cit., 1884.
40. Elkhorn Advocate, 20 December 1894.
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42. Elkhorn Mercury, 9 May 1912.
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46. Ibid., 20 July 1893.
47. Elkhorn Advocate, 3 October 1895.
48. Ibid., 20 February 1896; Elkhorn Mercury, 22 October 1954; Jean Whiteford and Edith Moody, Virden Review 1957-1970 (Virden Town Council, 1970), p. 207.
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50. Ibid., 26 May 1904.
51. Elkhorn Mercury, 15 June 1956.
52. Elkhorn Advocate, 8 December 1892.
53. Ibid., 6 December 1894; Virden Advance, 27 February 1890.
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55. Ibid., 13 December 1900.
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57. George G. Mandelbaum, The Plains Cree. Plains Studies 9 (Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1979).
58. Barry Potyondi "Paramilitary Role of Fort Ellice," Historic Resources Branch report, November 1975.
59. Virden Advance, 28 October 1886; 7 July 1887.
60. Ibid., 14 July 1887.
61. Ibid., 26 May 1892.
62. Ida Clingan, op. cit., p. 245.
63. Virden Advance, 18 April 1889.

64. Ibid., 30 September 1886.
65. Ibid., 24 March 1887.
66. Ibid., 5 October 1893; 16 November 1893.
67. Mossiel Guild History Book Committee, op. cit., p. 14; Elkhorn Mercury, 22 April 1915.
68. Virden Board of Trade, op. cit., p. 4.
69. Virden Advance, 8 October 1885; 28 May 1896.
70. Ibid., 11 June 1918.
71. Elkhorn Advocate, 29 November 1906.
72. Ibid., 8 November 1894.
73. Ibid., 29 December 1900.
74. Virden Advance, 28 May 1896.
75. Virden Empire-Advance, 7 May 1958.
76. Virden Advance, 19 April 1888.
77. Elkhorn Advocate, 20 April 1899; 28 April 1904; Elkhorn Mercury, 9 May 1905.
78. Virden Advance, 6 October 1905.
79. Elkhorn Advocate, 5 May 1904; 26 May 1904.
80. Virden Empire-Advance, 2 March 1956.
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82. Ibid., p. 23.
83. Letters of Arthur Sherwood, 15 May 1886. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, hereafter PAM; Alexander Rothnie, "Calvacade of Memory: Reminiscences of Life in the West, 1882-1902," p. 195, PAM.
84. Virden Advance, 13 May 1886.
85. Ibid., 21 January 1896; 15 September 1887; Elkhorn Mercury, 23 September 1909.

86. Virden Advance, 20 May 1886; 18 September 1890; 18 March 1897.
87. Ibid., 10 December 1896.
88. Elkhorn Advocate, 23 June 1904.
89. Frederick T. Bartlett, "Diary Kept from Montreal Quebec to Rossland, British Columbia, 1900-1901," PAM.
90. Virden Board of Trade, op. cit., p. 1.
91. Elkhorn Advocate, 16 March 1893; Virden Advance, 17 May 1888; Winnipeg Sun, No. 1888, December 1888.
92. Virden Advance, 24 October 1889; Elkhorn Mercury, 11 January 1951.
93. Virden Empire-Advance, 15 March 1921; Elkhorn Mercury, 24 July 1958.
94. Virden Advance, 30 April 1896.
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96. Virden Advance, 11 July 1889; Elkhorn Board of Trade, Manitoba Homesteads and Other Lands Available for Settlement (1898), p. 4.
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100. Virden Advance, 8 October 1885.
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102. Virden Advance, 18 June 1891.
103. Ibid., 30 July 1891; 18 July 1895; 26 March 1896.
104. Ibid., 15 February 1894.
105. Elkhorn Advocate, 16 March 1893.
106. Virden Advance, 21 January 1892; 4 February 1892; 18 February 1892.

107. Ibid., 31 March 1892.
108. Ibid., 15 May 1892.
109. Ibid., 25 March 1897.
110. Ibid., 4 June 1896.
111. Ibid., 16 May 1897; 22 July 1897.
112. Elkhorn Advocate, 7 July 1904; 29 November 1906.
113. Ibid., 8 March 1906.
114. Viriden Empire-Advance, 29 August 1921; 11 October 1921.
115. Ibid., 24 April 1923.
116. Ibid., 3 August 1926.
117. Ibid., 22 August 1951, p. 1.
118. Ibid., 26 May 1948, p. 1.
119. Ibid., 3 November 1948, p. 1.
120. Ibid., 7 June 1950, p. 1.
121. Ibid., 7 February 1951, p. 8.
122. Ibid., 14 February 1951, p. 1.
123. Elkhorn Mercury, 8 February 1951, p. 1.
124. Viriden Empire-Advance, 28 February 1951, p. 1.
125. Ibid., 17 October 1956, p. 14.
126. Elkhorn Mercury, 6 November 1952.
127. Viriden Empire-Advance, 7 February 1951, p. 1.
128. Elkhorn Mercury, 1 March 1951.
129. Viriden Empire Advance, 20 June 1951; Elkhorn Mercury; 14 August 1952.
130. Elkhorn Mercury, 14 August 1952.
131. Ibid., 7 August 1952.

132. Ibid., 6 November 1958.

133. Virden Empire-Advance, 12 March 1958; Elkhorn Mercury, 26 September 1958; Jean Whiteford and Edith Moody, op. cit., p. 44.

134. Virden Empire-Advance, 17 October 1956, p. 14.

135. Jean Whiteford and Edith Moody, op. cit., p. 44.

136. Elkhorn Mercury, 18 November 1955, p. 6.

137. Ibid., 20 February 1958.

138. Ibid., 13 March 1952.

III. Identification of Sites Within Virden-Wallace Planning District

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2. Henderson's Directory for Manitoba and the North West Territories, 1884; Virden Advance, 9 February 1888.
3. Virden Advance, 26 November 1885.
4. Ibid., 15 August 1885; Henderson's Directory, op. cit., 1897, 1900.
5. Ida Clingan, The Virden Story (Virden Town Council, 1957), p. 54; Virden Advance, 9 September 1897. Reference is made to James MacDonald, the late manager of Farmers' Elevator Company.
6. Virden Advance, 2 May 1895.
7. Inspector J.H.R. Shotwell's Report 6 June 1910, Manitoba Railway Commissioner: Manitoba Government Elevators, Files Relating to Purchases, Leases and Sales, 1910-1925, PAM.
8. Petition, 16 July 1910. Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.
9. Gordon Grase, History of United Grain Growers, Local #182 (Virden, 1985), p. 2.
10. Virden Advance, 28 August 1890; 11 September 1890.
11. Interview with Cecil Coleman, Virden, 25 November 1985.
12. Virden Advance, 15 August 1895.
13. Inspector J.H.R. Gillespie's Report, 6 June 1910, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.
14. Virden Advance, 3 June 1897; 1 July 1897.
15. Inspector J.H.R. Gillespie's Report 6 June 1910. Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.
16. Ida Clingan, op. cit., p. 4; Henderson's Directory, op. cit., 1904, 1905.
17. The Western Canada Fire Underwriter's Association Atlas, Volume II, PAM.
18. Elevator Commission Sales Documents, 30 September 1910, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.; The Western Canada Fire Underwriters' Association Atlas, op. cit.; Gordon Grose, History of United Grain Growers', op. cit., p. 2.

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21. The Western Canada Fire Underwriters' Association Atlas, Volume I; Village of Elkhorn Tax Rolls, 1931.

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23. Virden Advance, 1 October 1891.

24. Ibid., 1 October 1891; Marion Siple, op. cit.

25. Elkhorn Advocate, 9 September 1894; 5 September 1895; 14 September 1905.

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27. Elevator Reports Box 1, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.; Elkhorn Advocate, 13 October 1892.

28. Elkhorn Mercury, 11 August 1910.

29. Inspector J.H.R. Gillespie's Report, 1910. Elevator Reports, Box 1, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.

30. Elkhorn Mercury, 16 November 1911.

31. Elkhorn Mercury, 17 November 1949; Marion Siple, op. cit., p. 22.

32. Virden Advance, 21 January 1886; 8 October 1891.

33. Ibid., 22 October 1891.

34. Ibid., 26 November 1891.

35. Elkhorn Advocate, 3 October 1895.

36. Ibid., 14 June 1900.

37. Ibid., 27 September 1900; 23 August 1900.

38. Inspector J.H.R. Gillespie's Report, 7 June 1910, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.

39. Virden Advance, 15 September 1895; Elkhorn Advocate, 14 June 1900.

40. Elkhorn Advocate, 2 August 1900; Inspector J.H.R. Gillespie's Report, 7 June 1910, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.
41. Henderson's Directory, op. cit., 1905, 1906.
42. Bill of Sale. Elevator File Purchase, Lease and Sale Documents 1910-1925 Box 5, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit; Inspector J.H.R. Gillespie's Report, 7 June 1910, Manitoba Railway Commissioner, op. cit.
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44. Ibid., p. 211; Interview with Cecil Coleman, 25 November 1985.
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46. Virden Advance, 13 August 1885; 18 February 1886.
47. Ibid., 11 February 1886; 25 February 1886.
48. Ibid., 14 October 1886.
49. Ibid., 25 August 1887; 29 November 1888; 7 February 1889; Henderson's Directory, op. cit., 1889.
50. Virden Advance, 24 October 1889; Elkhorn Advocate, 27 April 1893; Virden Advance, 31 July 1890; 9 July 1891.
51. Virden Advance, 9 July 1891.
52. Elkhorn Advocate, 27 April 1893; 10 June 1893; Virden Advance, 4 January 1894; 11 January 1894.
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56. Ibid., 17 October 1895.
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59. Virden Empire-Advance, 30 November 1921.
60. Ibid., 15 August 1962, p. 1.
61. Virden Advance, 6 August 1885; 11 March 1886; 10 March 1887; 15 September 1887.

62. Elkhorn Advocate, 16 March 1893; 6 April 1893; 23 March 1893.
63. Ibid., 28 July 1893.
64. Ibid., 28 June 1894; 4 May 1893.
65. Ibid., 12 July 1894; 9 August 1894; 9 May 1895; 28 June 1895.
66. Ibid., 24 October 1895.
67. Ibid., 28 June 1895; 13 October 1898; 5 October 1894.
68. Ibid., 2 August 1900; 26 July 1900.
69. Ibid., 2 November 1905; 6 June 1906; 20 September 1906; 12 March 1908.
70. Elkhorn Tax Rolls 1917, 1918.
71. Virden Advance, 3 August 1905.
72. Henderson's Directory, op. cit., 1907, 1908; Virden Advance, 8 February 1950, p. 1, "Retrospect - 40 Years Ago."
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77. Virden Empire-Advance, 27 March 1923, p. 1; 22 May 1923.
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84. Virden Advance, 14 February 1895; C.H. Kellick, op. cit., p. 89; Ida Clingan, op. cit., p. 58; The Western Fire Underwriters' Association Atlas, op. cit.

85. Virden Advance, 31 August 1920, p. 3.
86. Ibid., 21 September 1926, p. 2.
87. Elkhorn Advocate, 10 May 1894; 7 June 1894; 31 January 1895.
88. Ibid., 2 September 1909; 3 February 1910.
89. Elkhorn Mercury, 17 March 1910; 22 September 1910; 29 September 1910.
90. Ibid., 11 February 1911; 16 April 1911; 27 April 1911.
91. Ibid., 8 June 1911; 28 October 1911.
92. Ibid., 21 January 1915; 25 March 1915; 22 April 1915; 13 January 1917; 30 August 1917; 19 February 1920; 2 April 1920.
93. Marion Sipley, op. cit., pp. 23-4.
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95. Virden Advance, 13 September 1888; 4 October 1888.
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98. Township General Register.
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101. Jean Whiteford and Edith Moody, op. cit., p. 211.
102. Elkhorn Advocate, 28 April 1904; 22 June 1905.
103. Ibid., 1 March 1906.
104. Ibid., 4 July 1895; Henderson's Directory, op. cit., 1894, 1895; Elkhorn Advocate, 3 August 1899.
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106. Elkhorn Mercury, 11 August 1949.

107. Virden Advance, 4 July 1889.
108. Elkhorn Advocate, 11 July 1895, "Old School Minutes".
109. Ibid., 24 November 1892.
110. Marion Siple, op. cit., p. 29.
111. Elkhorn Advocate, 19 May 1904.
112. Ibid., 20 January 1910; Elkhorn Mercury, 21 April 1910; 11 August 1910; 30 March 1911.
113. Elkhorn Mercury, 30 March 1950; 25 January 1957.
114. Ibid., 20 February 1958; 19 June 1958.
115. Elkhorn Historical Society, op. cit., pp. 74 and 133.
116. Virden Advance, 3 March 1887; Virden Board of Trade, Manitoba Homesteads and Other Lands Open for Settlement (1898) map; Elkhorn Advocate, 2 August 1900.
117. Elkhorn Advocate, 2 September 1909.
118. Virden Advance, 30 July 1885.
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120. Ibid., 28 July 1925.
121. Interview with Cliff Clark, Elkhorn, 19 November 1985.
122. Elkhorn Advocate, 30 August 1900; 27 September 1900.
123. Virden Empire-Advance, 30 January 1957.
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133. Ibid., p. 87.
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135. Ida Clingan, op. cit., p. 146.
136. Virden Advance, 7 July 1887.
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138. Virden Empire-Advance, 16 August 1950, p. 1.
139. Ibid.
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141. Ibid., 5 May 1892; 7 July 1892.
142. Ibid., 4 August 1892; Virden Empire-Advance, 24 August 1915.
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144. Virden Advance, 17 December 1897.
145. Virden Empire-Advance, 24 April 1957.
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148. Ibid., 9 May 1962, p. 3.
149. Ibid., 2 May 1962, p. 3.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid., 9 January 1957.
152. Ibid., 6 March 1957, p. 1.
153. Virden Advance, 21 December 1893; 24 December 1891; Ida Clingan, op. cit., p.31; Elkhorn Advocate, 15 December 1892; Virden Advance, 25 September 1894.
154. Virden Advance, 24 December 1891.
155. Ida Clingan, op. cit., p. 131.

156. Virden Empire-Advance, 14 December 1949, p. 1 "The Early Days".
157. Virden Advance, 25 October 1888; 29 November 1888; 7 February 1889.
158. Virden Empire-Advance, 14 December 1949, p. 1 "The Early Days."
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160. Ibid., 24 February 1890; 14 August 1890.
161. The Western Canada Fire Underwriters' Atlas, op. cit.; Virden Empire-Advance, 14 December 1949, p. 1.
162. Elkhorn Advocate, 10 August 1893; Virden Advance, 17 August 1893; 29 November 1894; 6 June 1895; 18 June 1895.
163. Virden Empire-Advance, 7 August 1957.
164. North West Review, 1930, p. 81.
165. Virden Empire-Advance, 23 September 1919; 7 August 1957.
166. Ibid., 15 May 1957, p. 3; 4 December 1957, p. 2.
167. Elkhorn Advocate, 30 July 1906.
168. Inventory of Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, Historic Resources Branch report.
169. Elkhorn Advocate, 24 March 1892.
170. Virden Advance, 12 May 1892.
171. Elkhorn Advocate, 13 October 1892; 13 July 1893.
172. Ibid., 24 December 1903, p. 1.
173. Ibid., 6 May 1909.
174. Elkhorn Historical Society, op. cit., p. 213; Virden Empire-Advance, 7 August 1957; interview with Cliff Clark, Elkhorn, 19 November 1985.
175. Virden Advance, 30 September 1886; 16 December 1886; "Sentence of Consecration", 22 September 1895, Accordian File, Brandon Diocese Office.
176. Interview with Cecil Coleman, Virden, 14 December 1985.
177. Elkhorn Advocate, 28 June 1906.

178. Elkhorn Mercury, 25 November 1909.
179. Elkhorn Advocate, 2 September 1909; Interview with Cecil Coleman, Virden, 14 December 1985.
180. Elkhorn Advocate, 19 April 1906.
181. Ibid., 17 May 1906; Elkhorn Mercury, 12 May 1949; Elkhorn Advocate, 22 November 1906.
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184. Township General Register.
185. A church building fund was active in that year according to the Elkhorn Advocate, 5 March 1908.
186. Interview with Cliff Clarke, Elkhorn, 18 December 1985.
187. Elkhorn Advocate, 12 September 1907; "Sentence of Consecration," 1 September 1907, Accordian File, Brandon Diocese Office.
188. Virden Empire-Advance. 6 April 1949, p. 1.
189. Ibid., 27 June 1950, p. 1; 5 July 1950, p. 1.
190. Ibid., 7 February 1951, p. 8; 4 July 1951, p. 1.
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IV: Identification of Potential Heritage Resources Within Virden-Wallace Planning District

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2. Sessional Papers Volume XIII, No. 3 (1880) Sessional Paper No. 4. "Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ending 30th June 1879, Part II. Report of the Surveyor General of Dominion Lands, No. 5, Report of W.F. King, esq. D.T.S. Astronomical Section Standard Outline Survey, and accompanying tables of Trail distances in the North-West Territory", pp. 23-38.
3. Sessional Paper No. 13. "A. 1892, Schedule 20, Trails Surveyed up to the 9th of January, 1889 ..."
4. Ida Clingan, The Virden Story (Virden Town Council, 1957), p. 228.
5. Elkhorn Advocate, 19 December 1912.
6. Interview with Cliff Clarke. Elkhorn, 19 November 1985. His grandfather travelled the trail by sleigh in May 1902 to cut wood at Cannington Manor.
7. Virden Advance, 11 March 1889.
8. Alexander Rothnie, "Calvacade of Memory: Reminiscences of Life in the West 1882-1902", PAM.
9. Charles Acton Burrows Correspondence, 14 May 1891 - 18 August 1891, No. 61. Letter from Thomas Routledge to Burrows, 11 August 1891. PAM.
10. Ibid. The stationary used by Routledge yielded this information.
11. Virden Advance, 29 July 1886.
12. Ibid., 1 October 1891.
13. Manitoba Morning Free Press, 21 June 1902. "Virden: A Western Metropolis."
14. Biographical Scrapbook B8, p. 73. Legislative Library, PAM.
15. Virden Empire-Advance, 27 April 1926, p. 1, "J.W. Scallion Ends Long Active Life."
16. Louis A. Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada. The Origins and Development of Agrarian Protest 1872-1924. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 181.

17. Biographical Scrapbook, B8, p. 73, Legislative Library, PAM.
18. Ibid.
19. Virten Empire-Advance, 4 April 1922.
20. Ibid., 7 July 1925.
21. Virten Advance, 6 August 1885; 8 October 1885; 17 December 1885.
22. Ibid., 10 March 1886.
23. Ibid., 28 April 1892.
24. Virten Advance, 12 May 1892; 25 August 1892; "Sentence of Consecration", Accordian File, Brandon Diocese Office.
25. Ibid., 25 August 1887.
26. Elkhorn Advocate, 12 July 1900.
27. Ibid; 12 October 1907; "Sentence of Consecration", 1 September 1907, Accordian File, Brandon Diocese Office.
28. Donna Dul, "Goose Lake Consolidated School District in Relation to Consolidation of Rural Schools in Manitoba", Historic Resources Branch Report, 1977, p. 2. In this report, Ms. Dul identifies Virten as the first consolidated district. Goose Lake Consolidated School District, located in Roblin, Manitoba and formed in 1913, was the first district to consolidate under new government legislation passed in 1911. It contained the largest area of any consolidated school district in Canada at the time.
29. Ibid.
30. Virten Advance, 30 March 1905.
31. Ibid., 1 February 1906, p. 1.
32. Elkhorn Advocate, 12 January 1893.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Virten Advance, 15 September 1887.
36. Ibid., 1 August 1889.
37. Ibid., 3 October 1889.
38. Elkhorn Advocate, 9 March 1893.

39. Ibid., 11 January 1894.
1893. 40. Virden Advance, 6 October 1892; Elkhorn Advocate, 12 January
41. Virden Advance, 27 October 1892.
42. Elkhorn Advocate, 7 December 1892.
1893. 43. Virden Advance, 2 November 1893; Elkhorn Advocate, 14 December
44. Elkhorn Advocate, 10 May 1894.
45. Ibid., 14 December 1893.
46. "Status of Discharged Students 1888-1903," Elkhorn Industrial School, Fort La Bosse School Division No. 41, PAM.
47. Ibid.
48. Elkhorn Advocate, 14 March 1896.
49. Ibid., 27 October 1897.
50. Ibid., 14 September 1899.
51. Ibid.
52. Fort La Bosse School Division No. 41, Elkhorn Industrial School, PAM.
53. Elkhorn Advocate, 13 May 1909.
54. Memorandum, 23 February 1923 from J.D. McLean, Acting Deputy Secretary, Indian Affairs to Mr. Featherstone, Canada-Indian Affairs, File 578-1 Parts 4 & 5, PAM.
55. Elkhorn Advocate, 19 December 1912.
56. Letter 15 October 1918 from Assistant Deputy Minister M.S. Stewart to William Gordon, Commissioner, Indian Affairs Regina. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.
57. Memorandum 27 January 1922 to Honourable Charles Stewart from Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.
58. Elkhorn Advocate, 13 May 1909.
59. Letter, 19 March 1921 to Archdeacon Snow, from Deputy Superintendent General Duncan C. Scott. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

60. Letter 15 April 1921 to D.C. Scott, Deputy Inspector General, Department of Indian Affairs from S. Gould, General Secretary, Missionary Society. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

61. Memorandum of Special Committee consisting of Rev. W.J. Southam and Field Secretary MSSC appointed by the Indian and Eskimo Commission to examine the condition of the buildings and property of Elkhorn Industrial School. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

62. Memorandum 18 July 1922 from J.B. Sutherland to Acting Deputy Superintendent General. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.; Memorandum 5 February 1923 from Deputy Superintendent General to Indian Commissioner, Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

63. Elkhorn Mercury, 9 August 1923.

64. Letter 28 September 1922 from Deputy Superintendent General D.C. Scott to Canon S. Gould, General Secretary, Missionary Society. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.; Memorandum 20 June 1923 from Scott to Indian Agent, Kenora. Ibid.

65. Memorandum 18 July 1922 from J.B. Sutherland to Acting Deputy Superintendent General. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.; Elkhorn Mercury, 17 January, 1924.

66. Letter 30 October 1926 to Reverend Canon Gould from Deputy Superintendent General D.C. Scott. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

67. Memorandum 4 March 1944 from Superintendent of Reserves and Trusts. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

68. Memorandum 22 September 1944 to Indian Affairs Branch from Inspector A.G. Hamilton, Inspector of Indian Agencies for Manitoba. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

69. Memorandum 5 October 1944 from Secretary of Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission to R.E. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training, Indian Affairs. Canada-Indian Affairs, op. cit.

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